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EASY TO ANSWER

CALL AGAIN

The Wichita, Kans., "Social Ethics", of the 6th instant, has an imaginary dialogue between a stranger and a Socialist Labor Party man, and the same stranger and a Socialist party man. At the close of the dialogue the paper asks whether there could be any doubt which of the two party programs "the average intelligent dissatisfied workingman, to say nothing of the farmer and small business man, would choose". It declares he would choose the S. P. The answer is too sweeping to be correct. And easy it is to make it correct.

It is a pity that "Social Ethics" caricatured and mutilated the S. L. P. program, and that it even went so far as to mis-state the S. L. P. vote, claiming it had "shrunken 20 per cent. in the last four years". The actual facts, as they actually are, are strong enough. The times and the dignity of the issue call for clear, calm reasoning. Exaggerations and misstatements tend to interfere with that.

The S. L. P. program and posture is that the emancipation of the Working Class must be the work of the Working Class itself. If the Working Class leans for help or guidance upon any other class, it will be deceived. The class interests of any other class will inevitably cause the latter to use its Working Class allies or patrons, under some lure or other, as food for cannon, as cat's-paws to draw from the fire the hot chestnuts that that other class lusts after. In order to be free from such danger the workingman must be alive to the interests of his own class, in other words, he must be class-conscious. Only class-consciousness can place the workingman on his guard against, and render him immune to the lures and plausible attractions held out to him by other class interests. Immune to such lures, in short, class-conscious, the Working Class acquires the use of its faculties; it acquires eyes to see, ears to hear, a mind to understand; it can then start on the march to its emancipation. The workingman will then realize that he is a wage-slave in capitalist society, an article of merchandise, whose share (wages) in the wealth that he produces does and must decline, and he will simultaneously perceive that all other classes or subdivisions of classes —middle class, upper capitalist, frenzied financiers, together with all the parasites upon these,—live on him. He will understand the why of the wherefore: the circumstance that his class is stripped of the natural opportunities (land) and of the social opportunities (machinery, i. e., capital) to work with. He will then see the goal towards which he must march —the overthrow of the capitalist system of plunder and the founding of the Socialist Republic, where, the necessaries for work being collective property, he who works shall live, and he who can, but won't, shall die. Class-conscious and with the goal clear in his mind, the workingman will be able to distinguish between "issues", that are only fights between his plunderers, and those that really concern him. He will be able to distinguish between FOOD, to keep him alive on his march to emancipation, and BAIT—seeming food with a hook in it to turn him into real food for somebody else.

He then will need no magnifying glass to detect the hook within the bait of every form of "Unionism" that is a "job-Trust", that keeps his class divided by high initiation fees and other schemes to keep out men, that does not provide for the organization and support of all the men of the trade, and that is officered by what Mark Hanna well called the "labor-lieutenants" of the Capitalist Class,—he will readily detect the hook in that bait, refuse to be anybody's gudgeon, and join the bona fide Union that is real food and no bait.

He will need no magnifying glass to detect the hook within the bait of all "co-operative" schemes dangled before his nose.

He will need no magnifying glass to detect the hook within the bait of "abundant monetary supply"—he will know that, being a merchandise, his share of the wealth that he produces does not depend upon the abundancy of that wealth, but upon the price of his own merchandise labor-power in the labor-market, and he will have a painful sense of his experience on this head by the recollection that, although there is now an infinitely more "abundant trousery supply", his share of trousers has not increased, but only his share in more holes in his clothes, and so all along the line with the "abundant" good things. He will know that "abundant money" means more money for the capitalists, not a cent more for him.

He will need no magnifying glass to detect the hook within the bait of "quickening business increasing the demand for labor and thus forcing up wages"—he will know that privately owned machinery is displacing labor faster than any "quickening of business" could possibly bring redress; he will know that business has all along been quickening with an ever declining relative number of workers.

He will need no magnifying glass to detect the middle class hook within the bait of "destruction of robber Trusts and monopolies"—he will know, for one thing, that, if the Trusts and monopolies could be and were really destroyed, the only ones to gain would be the resurrected "small man", who would in future, true to his own class interests, whack the life out of the workingmen, the same as the former "small man" did with the former workingmen, so as to get rich and start a Trust himself. For another thing, the class-conscious workingman, immune to bourgeois lures, will know that the middle class is as big a plunderer of the workingman as its weapon (small capital) allows it, and that its only objection to "robber Trusts and monopoly" is, not that these plunder the workingman, but that their weapon to plunder is so more powerful than the weapon of the middle class, that the middle class can not get as large a share of the workingman's hide as it would wish, and is itself overpowered by the more powerfully equipped "robber Trust and monopoly". Above all, he will know that the way to handle that magnificent contrivance of production, the Trust, is not to destroy, but to appropriate it for collective use.

He will need no magnifying glass to detect the middle class hook within the bait of "cheap water, cheap light, cheap rides, cheap telephone and telegraph service"—his class-consciousness comes there squarely to his aid. As to telephone and telegraph, he hardly ever has occasion to use them. As to water, light, rides, and such other necessaries he is unshakably aware of the fact that the cheaper those things become which he needs, the lower also will be his wages. He knows that he would not then be any worse off, but neither would be any better off, the only one to derive advantage from the cheapening of such things being the middle class. His experience with the free trade baited hook has shown him that. And he knows that this must be so because he is merely a merchandise: the less it takes to keep him the lower is his market value; while, with the middle class, the less it expends, the more it has for itself. He will not bite at that bait.

He will need no magnifying glass to detect the middle class hook within the bait of "lower taxes"—the same class-consciousness that protects him against wasting his energies on "cheaper goods" will protect him against wasting his energies on "lower taxes." He knows that he does not pay the taxes; he knows that the taxes are paid out of that portion of the wealth that he produces but that his pockets never get even a smell of; he knows that the taxes are paid out of the wealth that he is plundered of in the shop, that is, out of the profits of his employer; accordingly he knows that it is the employer who pays the taxes and alone is interested in having them lowered. He won't bite.

He will need no magnifying glass to detect the political dreamer's hook within the bait of "popular election of senators", etc.—he is too well aware being, indeed, class-conscious, first, that numberless are the politicians now chosen by "popular election", and they all grind him down with capitalist laws; secondly, that, whether politicians are chosen by popular election or not, does not bring him an inch nearer the goal—the collective ownership of the necessaries for work; thirdly, that his improvement can not be brought about by a change of "form" but by a change of the essence of the social system; and fourthly, that all such schemes may entertain children, but that no intelligent man will allow himself to be trepanned with propositions that amount to a "re-shuffling" or a "new deal" from a pack of cards that is stacked. The intelligent man demands, not a "re-shuffling" or a "new deal", he demands and will see to it that the fraudulent pack be thrown out of the window.

And so forth.

Such is the posture and program of the Socialist Labor Party. So runs every line of the Party's extensive literature, and such is the language held by all the responsible and authorized mouthpieces of the Party. Addressing to-day an audience ,the S. L. P. man will add that a Movement planted upon such a platform must necessarily progress slow at first, but that it can never collapse. He will illustrate his point with the S. L. P. vote. He will show that it has stood still during the last four years—34,191 votes in 1900, 34,172 in 1904—; but on this head he will point out the fact that all other Movements that have sought radical improvements along any other path have done worse than to hold their own by standing still, they have collapsed. He will illustrate the point with the late Populist Movement. All the lures above cited figured in the Populist party; it rose to a million and a quarter votes; it was to "sweep the country at any election"; it was to improve the condition of the workingman; it was to give them a chance to "keep themselves alive while waiting for complete Socialism"; it was an unqualified condemner of the Socialist Labor Party as a "dead", a "stagnant", a "petrified" affair;—in short, the identical language now held for the Socialist party by "Social Ethics" was then held for Populism by the Populist press. The result was to be foreseen. Populism has collapsed. The only ones who made anything out of it were the Peffers and other politicians who got jobs and are now back in the Republican or Democratic parties, together with the Weavers, who got paid-up life insurance policies from the silver-mine owners. As to the workingman he remained where he was, with his nose to the grindstone. He was cheated once more. Upon these facts and reasoning the S. L. P. urges the Working Class to acquire the clearness of vision that will render them "class-conscious, uncompromising, revolutionary, militant Karl Marx Socialists". Before they do, there will be no progress—except for the folks who hold the shore end of the line, from the other end of which dangles the baited hook in the troubled waters of Labor.

Let, thereupon, the Socialist party man take the stand. Mr. Thos. E. Will, the State Secretary of the Kansas S. P. and Editor of the Wichita, Kans., "Social Ethics", has stated in that paper, in the dialogue referred to, his party's program and posture. His office renders his declaration authoritative. No fault can be found with taking his view as representative of his party. Those views are expressed in the long list of baited hooks enumerated above. All that need here be added is his assertion that his party is "a great party which may sweep the country at any election", while the "S. L. P. vote has shrunken 20 per cent. in the last four years".

Can there be any doubt as to which of the two parties the "average intelligent dissatisfied workingman, to say nothing of the farmer and small business man will choose"? Hardly!

The average "intelligent workingman" in that audience, will realize the truth of the S. L. P. posture; his is no chicken memory; he may have his doubts as to whether the S. P. representative is a deliberate hook-baiter and re-incarnation of the Kansas Peffer, or whether he is merely an Utopian visionary, a well meaning dreamer, who seeks to teach others before he has taught himself,—who has no knowledge of the real surroundings, and who is purely emotional. The average intelligent workingman may be in doubt upon that; but he will have no doubt that his place is in the S. L. P.

As to the "farmer and small business man", all capitalists, for that matter, in that audience, ninety-nine per cent. of them will be ingrain class-conscious. They will feel about that S. P. declaration that "them's their own sentiments", and in their sleeves they will chuckle at the fool-workingmen who may be once more entrapped into fighting the battles of the petit-bourgeois.

Possibly one per cent. of the "farmers and small business men" or other capitalists in that audience may have a mind clear enough to have had their own class interests shaken by the S. L. P. presentation. That one per cent. may have perceived a glimmer of light that showed them that theirs was a hopeless fight, besides being immoral in that it retards civilization. That one per cent. will leave the meeting with the fresh

(Continued on page two.)

DULUTH TICKET

Letter of Acceptance of Theodore Zollner, S. L. P. Candidate for City Comptroller.

Duluth, Minn., Jan. 20, 1905.

Section Duluth, Socialist Labor Party,

Greeting:

In accepting the nomination for City Comptroller, tendered by Section Duluth of the Socialist Labor Party, I desire to express my appreciation of the honor confered upon me. The condition that the working class finds itself in at present, is not very encouraging. On the one hand we find a privileged class, the capitalist class, who have in their possession and control, our means of life, namely, the land, mines, machinery of production and distribution, and the wealth that the working class has alone produced. On the other hand we find the working class, a class who have nothing but their labor power. In order for the working class to live its members must sell the only thing they have to sell, viz., their labor power, which the capitalist buys in the labor market, the same as he buys lumber in the lumber market, hogs in the hog market, etc., i. e., according to the law of supply and demand. Between these two classes there is an irrepressable conflict of interests, a conflict which throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle and preverts government to the exclusive benefit of the capitalist class.

According to government statistics, the working class is robbed of four-fifths of the product of its labor. When the capitalist class cannot realize profit in buying all our labor power, some of us are thrown out of work. Denied the right to use the land which nature gave to us all, denied access to the means of production which the working class, by its labor alone produced; we are forced to roam the streets in idleness, to starve or to become objects of charity, as the many so-called charitable institutions will testify when they are begging funds to give "the needy poor" at least one square meal on Christmas Day. In this ever increasing army of unemployed, the capitalist class has a weapon which it holds over the heads of those who are employed. The capitalist class uses this weapon to keep the price of the workingman—his wages—down to a mere subsistance wage.

As the development of the means of production and distribution continues, together with their concentration into fewer and fewer hands, the working class finds its conditions steadily growing worse. The census of 1890 gives the average wages of the workingman as $444 per year, and the value of his product as $2.200 per year. In the census of 1900 the average yearly wage of the workingman falls to $437, while the value of his product rises to $2,450. Thus, the workingman in 1900 received 2 per cent. less for producing 10 per cent. more than in 1890. The wages of the working class can purchase but 18 per cent. of the product its members create. The balance remains in the hands of the capitalist class, who perform no useful work in production.

Any intelligent workingman should see that a system of production which only allows the producer 18 per cent. of his product is radically wrong, and must be removed. The difference between the productivity of labor and the amount labor is allowed to consume is so great that unless the capitalist class can find markets abroad in which to dispose of the product stolen from labor, their warehouses become full, the working class is turned out of the mills and factories and the mouthpieces of capitalism tell us that we have "overproduction". During the industrial crisis resulting from "overproduction", known to the worker as "hard times", the working class must go without sufficient food, clothing and shelter because it has produced too much flour, clothing, shoes and too many houses. This is the direct result of the wages and profit system that is based on the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, which we all must use in order to live.

A system that, through the private ownership of the means of existence, allows the idler to revel in luxury while the producer's lot is overwork and misery, cannot be reformed: it must be abolished. Against this system of private ownership, the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt and demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth; a commonwealth in which the machinery of production and distribution will be owned in common by the people, a commonwealth that guarantees to the worker the full product of his labor.

The Socialist Labor Party enters the coming city election, not as a crowd of office seekers, but as a class-conscious organization of the working class, aware of its rights and determined to conquer through the education of the working class in the battle our political and economic freedom. Therefore, we call upon the working class to study the principles of Socialism, to read our literature, to subscribe for our Party press, The People, to attend our meetings and, after seeing through the capitalist nature of all other political parties, to wipe them off the map with the ballot of the Socialist Labor Party, and then proceed to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth, as described above. In view of these facts, I accept the nomination for City Comptroller, tendered by the Socialist Labor Party which stands unshakably on the program of the working class, for the abolition of the wages system.

Yours for revolutionary, working class politics, as represented by the Socialist Labor Party,

Theodore Zollner.

THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT.

(The below is an editorial article from the Kansas City, Mo., "Star" of Jan. 8, 1905.)

REWRITING AMERICAN HISTORY.

It happens that four elaborate histories of the United States are now issuing from the press, while a fifth has been announced. In length they range from ten to twenty-eight volumes, and at least two of the five promise to be of the first rank. No such comprehensive productions have been undertaken before. Bancroft, Windsor, Schouler, Henry Adams, McMaster and Rhodes have treated only special periods of American history. The works now publishing are to begin with the Discovery and to come down to modern times.

One reason for this activity is to be found in the greatly increased attention given to history in the colleges within the last twenty-five years. This branch used to be neglected. Now it has become one of the chief subjects in the curriculum. The number of men engaged in historical research has multiplied, with the result of increasing both the interest in the subject and the number of contributions to it. Besides, much original work has been done, and the results are accessible in the shape of monographs. Many of the older theories have been overturned by this later research, and the errors thus exposed have invited correction.

Another and a more interesting reason for the rewriting of history is the change in the conception of the meaning of the word that has come in recent years. History is no longer considered to be merely "past politics." It is more and more regarded as the record of man's social activity. If civilization, as Matthew Arnold said, is the complete humanization of man in society, so is history the account of his doings in the community. And since these are chiefly determined by the necessity of making a living, so history is becoming in larger measure a chronicle of the effects, direct and indirect, of economic forces.

The modern historian cannot, for instance, regard the Revolution as caused by the capricious tyranny of a willful government. He traces the causes of irritation in the restrictions on trade and manufacture that were a part of the regular colonial policy of the age. He shows the development of a distinctive temper bred of the conditions of life in the New World. From these and similar considerations he points out that a rupture was inevitable, though not, perhaps, the accompanying war.

Again, in dealing with the slavery question, the modern historian does not praise the North and censure the South. He points out that slavery flourishes where economic conditions made it profitable and that it declined where it was not easily put to industrial use.

The economic interpretation of history, which was first elaborated by Marx in the middle of the last century, has given a new impetus to historical studies. Thus it happens that American history is now being written on an elaborated scale and from a new point of view.

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FIRST EXPLOSION

MORE TO COME

(The below Manifesto, issued to the Working Class, and calling for a convention to meet on June 27 in order to launch a new national and international Trades Union, has been forwarded to this office from the headquarters of the American Labor Union in Chicago. The Manifesto has been foreshadowed by last week's report of Frank Bohn, published in these columns under the head of "Preliminary Explosion," or "Volcanic Rumblings Coming to a Head.")

MANIFESTO.

Social relations and groupings but reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines ever replacing less productive ones wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, across which in this world of monopolized opportunities means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by craft divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assorts them according to the machine to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill, or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employers that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial, fratricidal distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the judicial injunctions and military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions.

The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions, the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers, subject to the same masters, the long struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief within wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the products of which they alone will enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent upon the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men, hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered, helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft. Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers. Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action. Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles, which serve only the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working class autonomy generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in the collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

Workingmen bringing union cards from foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

All members should hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

The general administration should issue a publication, representing the entire organization and its principle which should reach all members in every industry, at regular intervals.

A Central Defense Fund, to what

(Continued on page [illegible])

THE IRREPRESSIBLE
CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History Significance and Failure, Culminating in the Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

FIFTH EPISODE—Concluded.

CONSPIRACY CHARGE WITHOUT FOUNDATION.

President Burns, of the Portland, upon being questioned as to the existence of a conspiracy among the employees of the mine, stated that he wa absolutely ignorant of any conspiracy and did not believe there was any foundation for such suspicion. Needless to say, the evidence in support of the charge brought by the Mine-Owners' Association is still lacking. Mr. Brand's letter is of great value, as it gives a picture of life in the Cripple Creek district under the regime of the Military Commission.

An echo of the Portland affair was heard in the case of William Amole, a former watchman at the mine, who, after his release by the military, was set upon by four masked men and beaten and robbed. He was not a member of the union and had returned to the district at the request of President Burns and to gather up his belongings.

An idea as to the kind of men employed by the Mine-Owners' Association to do its white-capping may be gathered from the fact that the victims, after being beaten with horsewhips and guns, were robbed of all they possessed. It may be presumed that the hired thugs were given permission to go through the pockets of their victims in part payment for their services. The body of John Carley, killed in the "battle of Dunnville" by the force of military and Citizens' Alliance men under General Bell, was robbed of a large sum of money while being carried to Victor.

JAKE BAUMAN—TYPE OF SCOUNDREL EMPLOYED BY MINE-OWNERS

About this time the mine-owners lost a valuable servant, one Jake Bauman, a deputy sheriff, who was fatally injured by a railway train. During the strike in Leadville, a series of explosions occurred on succeeding nights. As is usually the case, the union was held responsible for the crimes. The home of A. V. Hunter, a banker, was the last to be blown up, and the explosion occurred just as the lady of the house was bidding good-bye to a visitor at the front door. When the man supposed to have caused the explosion was captured he was found to be none other than Jake Bauman, who was then, as at Cripple Creek, a deputy sheriff in the employ of the mine-owners.

With the record of this man, coupled with that of such infamous scoundrels as McKinney and Beckman, who had gone into the union or associated with union men for the purpose of stirring up trouble, is it not reasonable to suppose that the finger of suspicion points more clearly to the Mine-Owners' Association as being the guilty party in the many crimes committed in the district, the perpetrators of which are unknown? And the men named are not, by any means, the worst specimens among the men hired by the mine-owners to enforce the law and preserve order.

EXIT THE MILITARY COMMISSION.

On July 25, the Military Commission, being satisfied that its mission was at an end, Governor Peabody declared martial law off. The Commission reported that it had examined 1,569 individuals, recommending 238 for deportation and 40 for trial in the criminal courts; 1,289 were turned loose. In his report Judge McGarry forgot his former assertion as to the reason for deporting citizens of Teller County, and declared that the men deported were "agitators, or thieves, keepers of fences for stolen ore, habitues of bawdy houses, saloon bums and vagrants." It is possible that men of this stamp were deported, but it is certain the majority of the exiles were, in McGarry's own words: "On the wrong side of the union question."

Immediately upon the bringing to an end of martial law the gang employed by the Mine-Owners' Association commenced operations in earnest, a number of men being seized, beaten and deported in the orthodox manner.

On the 29th, the attorneys of the Western Federation of Miners scored a point in having a number of men suspected of complicity in the Independent affair and the street riots at Victor admitted to bail, after having been refused; and the bonds of a number of the indicted men were reduced to such an extent that it became possible to secure their release.

THE MISERY ENDURED IN TELLER COUNTY.

When one comes face to face with some of the misery bred of the trouble in Teller County words and figures seem hopelessly inadequate to convey an idea of the pain engendered by this conflict of the classes. One man, Nels Olsen, died of pneumonia contracted while in the bull-pen. W. H. Morgan committed suicide, and Emil Johnson is supposed to have done so, while brooding over the loss of their homes and their means of existence. Mrs. Dennison, whose home had been destroyed by fire early in the struggle, attempted suicide when it became apparent that the mine-owners' would take a bitter revenge on her husband. He had been a strong union man, but, when it became evident that the union was routed, he applied for a card in the bucaru of the mine-owners, only to be refused. The threatened starvation unsettled the mind of his wife, and she attempted to take her life.

Another victim was Michael O'Connell, ex-marshal of Victor, whose name has figured prominently in these pages. He had been placed in the bull-pen on June 6, upon being deposed as marshal, and had been indicted for murder. Upon being admitted to bail he went to Denver, and there came to his death by falling from a fourth-story window. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of "Accidental death," the evidence pointing that way. The spokesmen of the State administration and its owners, with the charity for which they are famous, would not let him rest in his grave, saying that he had committed suicide in preference to facing a jury of his peers. The vindictiveness of these good people would have shamed an Indian.

MILITIA'S DEPARTURE COMPELS MODIFICATION OF TACTICS.

On August 6 no less than thirty-six men still lay in jail in Cripple Creek, being unable to obtain bondsmen.

The departure of the militia forced the mine-owners to modify their tactics a little. Now objectionable residents were "waited upon by committees," or "crowds of non-union miners" gave this or that man notice that he must take out a mine-owners' card. These methods were supplemented by the gangs that did the work formerly committeed to the military.

W. J. Donnelly was among those selected as a victim. He was the owner of the store at which Marshal O'Connell had secured arms for his men on the 6th, and the hatred felt toward him on that account was increased by the fact that he was one of O'Connell's bondsmen. It is possible that the Citizens' Alliance hoped, by driving him from the district, to secure his stock at a bargain, in addition to his trade. Mr. Donnelly declined to be driven away, and demanded protection, which was reluctantly given.

A number of men visited the Dillon mine and notified the men employed there that they must all take out cards. The reason given for this action is the fact that a non-union miner had been accidentally killed, whereupon the agents ofthe mine-owners intimated that he had been killed by union sympathizers. It is impossible to paint in sufficiently strong colors the unscrupulous character of those who had taken to themselves authority in the district.

Another man ordered to leave town is the Rev. T. S. Leland, pastor of the Methodist church at Victor. He was a member of the jury that brought in a verdict of criminal negligence against the Stratton's Independence company, and which had made Commissioner White come to time. Mr. Leland refused to obey the order and made preparations for defence.

A mob visited the residence of George Seitz, in Cripple Creek, who met it with a fusilade of shots, from which it is said one of the attackers has since died. Mr. Seitz was taken to the city jail for protection. He, too, had not taken out a card from the Mine-Owners' Association—the unpardonable sin. The same night a mob broke into the residence of John Harper, formerly manager of the union store at Victor, who was in the district with T. H. Parfit for the purpose of transferring what was left of the union stores to J. S. Hall, representing the Interstate Mercantile Company. Harper and his son were seized, and when Mrs. Harper rushed to their assistance, a white-capper struck her violently. Harper was not given time to put on his coat, and while being marched out of the district was beaten terribly and, of course, robbed.

While young Harper was being driven out of town, the party was met by Major Naylor, who, by word and action, approved of the work of the mob. Parfit and Hall could not be found by the mob, and it developed that they were in jail for safekeeping.

Bear in mind, the assassins, anarchists, etc., of the Western Federation of Miners had been driven out of the district, and yet the sheriff, to safeguard the men who appealed to him for protection, was forced to place them in the city or county jail, that they might not be assaulted and robbed, and possibly killed, by the hired men of the Mine-Owners' Association and their allies in the Citizens' Alliance.

The work of the mob was carried to such extremes that Sheriff Bell, for decency's sake, issued a proclamation to the effect that he would, in the future, enforce the law against all offenders, regardless as to who they might be. What he really did will become apparent as we go on.

THE RAID ON THE INTERSTATE MERCANTILE STORES.

On the 15th the Interstate Mercantile Company opened the stores formerly conducted by the union. The first move against this concern was the refusal of the papers of Cripple Creek to accept the firm's advertisements, and the next was the declination of the wholesale houses to supply the stores with goods.

The sheriff, Bell, seemed to be attended by a fatality that took him away from the district when anything was about to happen. Possibly this was nothing more than a coincidence; still, when Bell departed for Denver, men surmised that something was in the air. And it came. Along in the afternoon of the 20th it became apparent to everyone that something was brewing; that is, everyone with the exception of Under-Sheriff L. F. Parsons, who had been given his position because of his official connection with the Citizens' Alliance. Armed men gathered on Bennet avenue, Cripple Creek, but Parsons, laughing and chatting, was sweetly oblivious of anything out of the ordinary. At four o'clock, having received the expected directions, the mob made a rush for the old union store, the leader yelling that the time had come for a final clean-up of the district. Wrecking the store was only the preliminary; the rioters then began to make prisoners of the men marked for deportation. Some of the proposed victims made an appeal to Under-Sheriff Parsons for protection, and he made a bluff at giving it, but was speedily "overpowered" by the mob. Among the men gathered in were Eugene Engley, formerly Attorney-General of Colorado; Frank J. Hangs, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners; H. N. Heinerdinger, manager of the Interstate Mercantile Company; J. C. Cole, formerly Deputy District Attorney; T. H. Parfit; Michael O'Neill, Deputy County Clerk and Recorder, who had taken charge of the office when Mr. Mannix was hounded from the district; F. J. Hall, manager of the store, and other prominent men.

BONDSMEN MARKED MEN.

The greater part of the captives were taken toward Florissant. J. C. Higgins, speaking of the deportations, said that he had been pointed out to the men actually engaged in the rioting by A. E. Carlton, who, with Nelson Franklin, was directing things. "About a week ago," said Mr. Higgins, "Carlton came to me and asked me to withdraw from the bond of William Granam, one of the imprisoned miners, and I refused to do so. This is the offence for which I am deported."

I may say that a determined effort had been made on the part of the mine-owners to force those who had given bond on behalf of the imprisoned men to withdraw and thus give back the indicted men into their clutches. Higgins is not the only one who suffered on this account.

Just outside town the spokesman of the mob halted the prisoners and told them that they had been disturbers and if they dare return their fate would be a bullet or a rope. He wound up with a reminder that they were not to come back.

The man Higgins had a gun, and it is said that he attempted to defend himself. This he denies, but, however that may be, he was fearfully beaten by his captors, and landed in Denver faint from the punishment administered.

The smaller party, consisting of Parfit, O'Neill, Hall and two clerks, was taken toward Canon City, Parfet being beaten severely while on the way.

A FATAL MISTAKE.

This deportation, while not on the scale of some that had preceded it, is by far the most important. Not only was the mystery as to who had been back of the white-cappers cleared up; it was also established that the mine-owners were so sure of their ownership of the State administration and their control of the courts, that they dare come out into the open to do their deeds of violence. It was a fatal mistake, however, as they know now that Nelson Franklin, A. E. Carlton and a number of mine-owners and their parasites are under indictment upon charges of conspiracy, false imprisonment, larceny, assault to kill, etc., and stand a remarkably good chance of going to the penitentiary if there is any justice to be had. As to hte guilt of these men there is not the slightest doubt. Carlton, Franklin, and their fellows organized the mob and directed its movements. No concealment whatever was made, and it is up to the people to show these insolent anrachists that they cannot run the State as they see fit, even if they have Peabody in their pocket, he having at his back the decision of the Supreme Court.

PEABODY VIRTUALLY CURSES MOB'S CLUMSINESS.

This conspiracy was to bring out a still more remarkable feature, which is nothing less than a letter from Governor Peabody to Sheriff Bell, a week after the riot. The Governor was badly scared by the uproar throughout the State and he informed Bell that he was grieved to hear that a disorderly mob had assembled in Teller county, which had destroyed private property and maltreated and driven from their homes a number of citizens. The Governor closed with the statement that another mob contemplated a similar outrage and that he was ready to send the troops in, did the sheriff desire them.

This admission upon the part of the Governor that that at least one outrage committed in the Cripple Creek ditsrict could not be charged to the W. F. M., or its sympathizers is a virtual abandonment of the position taken up by that high-minded extmplar of all that is good and proper. He was a miserable man when he penned those lines to Bell. It was nothing out of the way—the deportations, assaults, robberies, invasions of homes, denials of all rights to men accused of crime and to men accused of no crime—when the business was done quietly or under the guise of military necessity. When the conspirators came into the open, then he must write a letter that is virtually a curse upon them for their clumsiness; a letter full of evasions that deceive nobody.

Quite different was the course adopted by the Mine-Owners' Association and its organs. They gloried in it, and stood by what they had done. That is well; we know what to do with such men.

A LAUGHABLE "ATTEMPT AT ASSASSINATION."

The beatings and deportations still continues. The Rev. T. S. Leland was but lately liberated from jail, into which he was thrown for attempting to "assassinate" Sheriff Bell. It is laughable, that assassination. Bell and a number of deputies went to the home of Mr. Leland, when they knew he was holding services in his church, in an attempt to capture two men who were guarding the place. The men were miners released on bond, who had taken up their residence with the Lelands, and when they saw Bell and his deputies prowling around they thought it was an attempt at whitecapping and prepared for their visitors. One of the defenders accidentally fired both barrels of a shotgun, and Bell swore that they had tried to kill him, although the shot went into the ceiling and the side of the house. When the inmates of the house found out who the men were, they surrendered, and Mr. Leland, upon leaving his pulpit, was arrested and taken to jail with them.

EPISODE DRAWS TO A CLOSE.

Our recital draws to a close. The Interstate Mercantile Company, under an injunction issued by Judge Marshall, of the United States Court at Salt Lake, went back to the district and re-opened its stores. As to the miners returning to their homes in the Cripple Creek and San Miguel districts, that is impossible, as things stand now. The inferior courts cannot aid them, as the Governor would do as he has done in the past and trample any hostile decision underfoot, while the Supreme Court is so completely committed to the cause of Governor Peabody as to render the expectation of assistance from that quarter out of the question.

As to the part played by the National government, I would say that an agent has been sent into this State "to investigate." Beyond that the president has ignored all appeals for help, and by his silence stands committed as the accomplice of Governor Peabody. More than that, the State militia has been thoroughly equipped by the National government under the provisions of the Dick Bill, since the trouble began in Colorado City, and General Cooper of the United States army, has been placed in Denver as the military counsellor of the Governor.

(To be continued next week.)

AUGUST BEBEL'S GREAT BOOK

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From the German by
DANIEL DE LEON
With Translator's Preface and Footnotes

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FIRST EXPLOSION.

(Continued from page one.)

members contribute equally should be established and maintained.

CALL FOR CONVENTION.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegate represents. No delegate, however, shall be given representation upon the basis of an organization, unless he has credentials, bearing the seal of his union, local, national [illegible] international, and the signatures of officers thereof, authorizing him to install his union as a working part of the proposed economic organization in the industrial department to which it logically belongs in the general plan. Lacking this authority, the delegate shall represent himself as an individual.

Chicago, Jan. 4, 1905.

THOS. J. DE YOUNG,
Of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, Houston, Texas.
THOS. J. HAGGERTY,
Of the American Labor Union, Chicago.
CHAS. O. SHERMAN,
Of the United Metal Workers, Chicago.
FRED D. HENION,
Of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, Minneapolis.
M. E. WHITE,
Of the American Labor Union, Denver.
ERNEST UNTERMANN,
Chicago.
W. J. BRADLEY,
Minneapolis.
W. J. PINKERTON,
Of the Switchmen's Union of North America, Argentine, Kan.
FRANK KRAFFT,
International Union of United Brewery Workmen, Chicago.
A. J. SWING,
Of the American Federation of Musicians, Cincinnati.
A. M. SIMONS,
Editor International Socialist Review, Chicago.
J. E. FITZGERALD,
Fort Worth, Texas.
WADE SHURTLEFF,
Of the International Musical Union, Cleveland, Ohio.
WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD,
Of the Western Federation of Miners, Denver.
MOTHER JONES, Chicago.
FRANK M. M'CABE,
Chicago.
JOHN M. O'NEILL,
Editor Miners' Magazine, Denver.
CHARLES H. MOYER,
Western Federation of Miners, Denver.
WM. E. TRAUTMAN,
International Union Brewery Workmen, Cincinnati.
W. L. HALL, Chicago.
JOS. SCHMITT,
International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.
CLARENCE SMITH,
Chicago.
JOHN GUILD,
International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.
DANIEL M'DONALD,
Chicago.
FRANK BOHN,
New York City.
GEO. ESTES, Chicago.

Permanent Executive Committee:
WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, Chairman.
W. E. TRAUTMANN, Secretary.
Odd Fellows' Temple, Cincinnati.
CLARENCE SMITH,
W. L. HALL,
A. M. SIMONS.

SOCIALISM AND PATRIOTISM.

A lecture on the above subject will be delivered by James Connolly on Sunday, Jan. 22, at 3 p. m. at Turn Hall, 16th street near 5th avenue, Brooklyn. The comrades of the 7th and 12th A. D.'s are urged to do what they can to make this lecture a success. Bring friends and shopmates along.

EASY TO ANSWER.

(Continued from page one.)

breath of a new thought thumping in their heads. That one per cent. will betake itself home, and THINK. Fifty per cent of that one per cent will be dragged away from its thoughts by the immediate demands of their petty lives; the other fifty per cent of that one per cent. will attend further meetings of both the S. L. P. and the S. P.; they will invest in the literature of the two parties; they will diligently read the two parties' organs; they will branch off into further studies; and, finally, like men who thitherto lived in hell and have been purged by study and meditation, they will deliberately step into the ranks of the S. L. P., a valuable acquisition, determined to atone for their own and their ancestors' past lives of plundering the workingman. They will thenceforth bestow upon the Working Class the benefit they have derived from their own superior opportunities; and they will thenceforth be found uncompromisingly wielding the sword of Revolutionary Socialism against the Capitalist System, in the front ranks of the Fighting S. L. P.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., PARTY.

The Young Men's Socialist Club of Milwaukee, Wis., will give a Card Party and Sociable on Saturday evening, January 28 at Hankes' Hall, corner of Ninth and Harmon streets. The members of the organization have worked unceasingly to make the affair a great success, which it undoubtedly will be.

As the Young Men's Socialist Club is a great factor in spreading the principles of Socialism, comrades are urged to attend and bring a few of their friends with them.

Are We at Bulgaria or Italy?

I.

Are We At Bulgaria Or Italy? Taking the phrase in the figurative sense in which its originator intended it to be used, the writer must emphatically declare that we are or should be all "Bulgarians" at the present stage of affairs. But, while announcing himself a "Bulgarian" he does so for reasons additional to and other than the excellent ones already enumerated by the various contributors to this discussion, and, only because of that was he led to at all enter it, prompted by a recent remark of a comrade that "no one seems to have treated upon the 'real difference,' that is, our respective attitudes on the Trades Union Question."

This, to the writer's mind, is a point that should be strongly emphasized in proving that not only is the corrupt leadership and semi-radical-bourgeois attitude of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party a barrier to any project looking toward unity on the "Italian" plan, but, that having in mind that the real cause of the so-called split in the movement was our adherence to the principles of the New Trades Unionism as exemplified in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and that the element controlling the S. P. particularly in the East, still stick to their policy of supporting, aiding and abetting the pure and simple annexes of capitalism, even officering the most corrupt of all capitalist trades unions, the Tobin Boot and Shoe Workers, the Typographical and the International Cigarmakers, with their Sievermans, Careys, Martindales, Mamie Hayeses, Ben Hanfords, Morris Browns, et. al., and their general conduct of catering and cringing to the labor fakirs of the Gompers travesties on unionism, there can be no possible room for any honest member of the Socialist Labor Party to find any ground upon which to stand in order to declare himself an "Italian." In fact, this false position on the economic field has led to and served to intensify much of the political turpitude displayed by these shining lights of the S. D. P. and assisted in duping, muddling and miseducating the rank and file, and as long as it is held will continue to do so.

Let us try to reach and educate the honest members of that rank and file ne S. P. and its sympathizers and them to more quickly get onto the nsistent position which remaining r being affiliated with that party while trying to be Socialists places them in, and bring them into our own ranks, to where they must naturally gravitate as they learn, but no "Italy" in ours while present conditions obtain in the respect above pointed out.

Sam J. French.

New York City, Jan. 1.

II.

The discussion started by Comrade Olive M. Johnson's letter in The People is very interesting and instructive. All the previous writers seem to agree that the principles advocated by the S. L. P. are correct, but they differ as to the tactics to pursue. Some suggest that we should come in closer contact with the "Socialist" party, by means of committee meetings, etc. The question arises: is this Party an organization of the working class? By looking over the history of the Socialist Labor Party and the "Socialist" party we find that the S. P. was launched in opposition to the S. L. P. . Surely, this is not a move that recommends itself to the minds of men who wish for solidarity. Again, who are its prominent men? The action of Carey, Hoehn, etc., do not prove it to be organized in the interest of the workingmen. Some may contend that the men that compose the S. P., especially its rank and file ,are honest in their intentions. Perhaps they are; that is not the question that should disturb the minds of intelligent men. If you want to shoot a rabbit, no matter how good your intentions may be, you will miss it, and perhaps hurt yourself, if you don't know how to handle your gun. Are not the men who compose the Republican and Democratic parties honest, at least the majority of the rank and file? Why not arrange a meeting with these parties and come to some understanding, likewise ,if the course suggested in regards to the S. P. is to be followed? There is no essential difference between the Republican, Democratic and S. P. as far as being working class organizations is concerned. It is only one of degree. They all laud labor more or less. That is not the test. The love they express is but so much molasses to catch flies, in other words, votes. The platform adopted at Chicago is made with a view to agree with every one's interests and tastes; very "revolutionary" and "uncompromising" indeed.

Then look at the literature they swamp the country with, for instance, the "Appeal to Reason." Have you ever read anything that contains more nonsense to the square foot than it brings forth? Also the books and pamphlets that are distributed by the S. P., such as "Looking Backward," "Equality," "Merrie England," etc., nothing but novels that may give beautiful pipe dreams, but as far as educating the working people to their class interest is concerned, absolutely worthless and even harmful, while the publications having any pretensions at all of being educational, show that their writers know about as much of economics and Socialist philosophy as a cow about Sunday.

Here is an illustration: "Introduction to Socialism," published by the Wayland Publishing Company, contains the following: "Now we contend that the best interest of both capital and labor are served by the safe investment of capital." The writer then says that the safest investment of capital is in trusts and improved machinery, because they eliminate waste and expense, such as drummers and salesmen. Very good things for labor, to be sure! Any person may claim to be a doctor or an engineer, but if these were to express themselves contrary to all laws of hygiene or mechanics, would they not prove conclusively that they are neither doctors nor engineers? The same holds good with persons and organizations claiming to be Socialists.

The work that is laid out for the Socialist Labor Party is not to harmonize with make believes, but to educate and organize the workers upon correct lines. Anything else will tend to corrupt it. Let us not get discouraged because all our work is uphill. Success, as I look at it, is not to create a vast conglomeration of results that will prove to be useless, but let every bit of work, no matter how small the result may be, let that little be done right. The tactics pursued by the S. L. P. are the best under the circumstances. A work of art is not considered because of its size, but by its execution. The same holds good here.

Now, no matter how correct our principles and tactics may be, they will be of little use unless we can bring them before the people, in other words, we must aim to become popular. But as we cannot afford to compromise in order to gain popularity, we must look elsewhere. It seems to me that the methods used by individual members, when speaking in public or private, could be improved. Some seem to think that in order to be good S. L. P. men, they must strive to become as unpopular as possible. At an S. L. P. meeting held here in St. Louis some time ago, the speaker said that an S. L. P. man could never hold a speech without hurting somebody's feelings. When asked a question in regards to Hoehn, he replied by referring to Hoehn's personal appearance. This man has proven himself untrue to the Party. Others have some hobby or other that they like to ride at every opportunity. I would advise them to let it at home to amuse the children with, when working for the Party. Again others will simply hammer away without considering the feelings of hate they may arouse towards the S. L. P. and themselves. Is this policy?

Our work is to bring the glad tidings of Socialism to the people. You cannot debate a question intelligently by creating ire. The people have been taught these many years to uphold certain ideas and ideals, which, even though they be wrong, they will fight for, even to the death. The truth can be presented to almost any one in an intelligent manner, without resorting to abuse. I will admit that some mortal's foolish notions and idiosyncracies are enough to try men's souls, but to fly off the handle is an admission of one's own lack of intelligence and information. If your adversary is beyond common sense, drop him ,because all your efforts will be wasted. You cannot add brains to a man's cranium; you can only develop them. I think if Sections should keep better tab on their members and compel them to base themselves thoroughly in all the science of economics, the principles and tactics of the S. L. P., and also to see that they be courteous to all, friend or foe (I do not mean to let any one walk all over you), that the Party's work would show better results.

Comrades ,here we have an organization that we may well be proud of, which furnishes us with proof galore that we are right in every instance. Why not use it to the best advantage? Don't monkey with the tactics that have kept the Party pure and that tolerates no compromise. I hope that some writers, who are more able than I, would take up this phase of the question. I would like to see some one who has some suggestions to make that will tend toward the growth of the Party, express himself, because, it seems to me, that is of the greatest importance now.

Paul Herzel.

St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 1.

BOHN IN MISSOURI

SECTION ST. LOUIS' WORTHY EXAMPLE IN PUSHING S. T. & L. A. WORK.

Butchers' Alliance Organized to Save Meat Workers from Gompers' Clutches—Mixed Alliance Also Organized—Third One Projected—Big Meeting In the Wabash Shops At Moberly—"Come Again," Shout the Workers, "That's What We Want".

Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 21.—By pushing the work of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, Section St. Louis has set a worthy example for the remainder of the Party. Seizing the opportunity offered by the failure of the stock yards strike of last summer they organized a strong Alliance among the butchers. These laborers in the stock yards are now among the lowest paid of unskilled workmen. The only purpose the Gompers' crowd can possibly have in approaching such men is to steal their loose change. The spirit of the S. T. & L. A. followed by organization, is now lighting the way of these hitherto hopeless proletarians.

With the membership of Section St. Louis as a beginning ,we organized a Mixed Alliance. The plan is to keep the Mixed Alliance constantly growing and dividing, like primitive cellular life. Several "People" readers, hitherto inactive, begun their work for the movement by joining this Alliance. The organization of another Local (which we hope to see within two months), will give St. Louis a District Alliance.

As soon as our St. Louis comrades saw the necessity of the S. T. & L. A. work, it did not take them long to see that, to be promoters of such work, they, themselves, must become members. Imagine a Socialist agitator on the political field, trying to work without being a member of the organized political forces of Socialism. During the next four weeks the two St. Louis Alliances will distribute thousands of leaflets and conduct special agitation meetings for the propaganda of their principles. EVERY WAGE WORKER IN THE S. L. P. SHOULD JOIN THE S. T. & L. A. NOW.' If there are enough members in your city, have an organization by February 15 and start to work hammering nails into the coffin of the dying A. F. of L.

But to return to St. Louis. The dropping away of elements injurious to its integrity has left the Section fine and strong. New members are joining and new features of agitation are being developed. The Section is about to move into larger and more centrally located headquarters. By the way, of all the attempts of sore-headed cliques to ruin the Party or break it up by their resignation, the late St. Louis episode is the funniest. The '99 Kangs armed themselves with bludgeons and faced the music of Socialist progress. Some courage is thereby implied. The '02 Kanglets showed some little mental acumen in the concoction of their schemes. For a while they had new members guessing. But the St. Louis grass-hopper of July, 1904, in attempting to swell to the size of the genuine Kangaroo, cut but a sorry figure from the start. There was no "conspiracy." The bungling mess made of the business fooled nobody and furnished not a little amusement to those who knew of it. I remember that Comrade Goerke of Cleveland, ventured to prophesy about what did finally occur, on the way home from the July convention. But space in The People is too valuable for this.

At Moberly, Mo., we have no members. So I started to turn up new soil by arranging a noon meeting at the Wabash shops. The "boss" wasn't so sure about it. I must see the superintendent. But that dignitary was not in when I called, so I risked the meeting. The men arranged to have it in a part of the works specially suited for the purpose, on Thursday noon. It was the same old story. Men crowded in among the machines and benches, hungry for the teachings of Socialism. They insisted upon quiet in the vicinity of the meeting. Usually, I have spoken in "open" shops. This shop was strictly "union." But that seemed to cut no figure. After the true character of the A. F. of L. was pointed out and the right tactics of the S. L. P. explained, the men, without exception ,supplied themselves with our literature. When I had nearly finished, the meeting was broken up by the "boss." "Come again," shouted the men, "that's what we want."

In another town I felt that I was carrying red fire into the Holy of Holies. It was Columbia, the seat of the State University of Missouri. Columbia has no wage workers beyond a few in the building trades and the negro "servants,"

(Continued on page six.)

A Challenge and an Answer

I.

I beg to request that the below correspondence be inserted, at least in the Daily People. The challenge from Mr. Lewis being *personal* to myself I should, of course ,have ignored it, and, least of all, forced it upon the highly taxed columns of The People, only that I realize that there is to-day any number of "socialistic" people, both inside and outside the S. D. P., who give close attention to the S. L. P. and to the actions of its members, and who have not been disciplined in S. L .P. tactics. They consequently might take my failure to accept a widely echoed "challenge" as cowardice on the part of the S. L. P. or myself, as a member of that party. Therefore, so that no misunderstanding may take place, I am desirous of having the challenge and the answer printed.

If any one should wonder how I have come to be known as a champion of "the doctrine of 'Natural Rights'," it may be well to explain that the challenge has arisen out of the declaration in our platform that "The S. L. P .reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Mr. Lewis, until lately organizer of Local San Francisco, S. P. ,having within his own party such grand gems of "Socialist philosophy" as the National S. P. Platform, the Californian Manifesto, etc., etc., etc., etc., but being, no doubt, in the unfortunate position of the man in Christ's parable who could not see a beam in his own eye, but saw a mote in his brother's eye, has spent a great deal of time for months in showing up the inconsistency of the S. L. P. in having such a phrase in its platform. This has caused our audiences to ask questions and along with other comrades I have taken the gentleman and *his "philosophy"* to task. Hence the challenge. Now we are anxiously awaiting an answer to the answer.

OLIVE M. JOHNSON.

Oakland, Cal., Jan. 10, 1905.

II.

230 Van Ness [illegible]
S. F., Dec. [illegible]

Miss Olive M. Johnson:

Madam—As I have heard you express yourself to the effect that the doctrine of "Natural Rights" is all right and in harmony with the Socialist philosophy, I hereby respectfully challenge you to a public debate as to the merits of this question. Of course, all question of party tactics of one party or another would be out of order and it must be understood that the discussion be confined to the question. This challenge is not to carry any air of browbeating or bravado, and I can assure you that at my hands you would be sure of the courtesy due to a lady and a Socialist, both of which I believe you to be.

I would suggest turning my lecture of February 9 in the Academy of Sciences ,on the "Fallacy of Natural Right" into a debate.

Yours very respectfully,
A .M. LEWIS.

III.

2131 Peralta street,
Oakland, Cal.
January 8, 1905.

Mr. A. M. Lewis,
San Francisco, Cal.:

Dear Sir—Your note of December 26, 1904, has been handed to me and contents noted.

Let me say that under no circumstances can I allow myself to be drawn into a debate upon a question which would from its very nature result only in "hairsplitting" and quoting of authorities.

Secondly, as a Socialist, and in public, I do not at any time appear as an individual, but am subjected to the organization to which I belong, therefore *as an individual* I am obliged at all times and under all circumstances to decline to debate with you *as an individual*. The cause for this is apparent. What would be gained for the causes we represent even if we as individuals demolished each other ever so much? Absolutely nothing! My party, at least, would refuse to recognize my authority and would scorn such an undertaking.

On the other hand, I am positive I do not overstep my authority if I say that, if Local San Francisco of the S. P. at any time sees fit to challenge Section San Francisco of the S. L. P. upon the only debatable subject between the two, namely, which party represents the working class, such a debate to include, of course, the platforms, principles, actions and tactics of both parties, Section San Francisco would most readily accept such a challenge. If then the Section should see fit to choose me as its representative I would have no hesitation to meet you or any other representative member of the S. P. The time, place, and other arrangements relative to such a debate would of course ,as is usual in such matters, be left to a regularly chosen committee representing both parties.

I am respectfully yours,
OLIVE M. JOHNSON.

What Is Capital?

By Ferdinand Lassalle.

(Continued from Last Week.)

CHAPTER III.

INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Glance at another period of culture. Contemplate the owner of the soil in the Middle Ages, the noble seigneur with his castles and halls, serfs and subjects, villages and towns. Was this man a capitalist?

Do not entertain the common, crude notion that in those days people lived on the produce of the fields alone. Production was then well developed, comfort was great, the means of enjoyment were numerous, varied and refined. Ulrich of Lichtenstein in the 13th century, describing a reception by his wife, says she was clothed in a garment of silk and gold trimmed with ermine; eight women waited on her, all well clothed; her bedroom had a hundred lights, the mattress was covered with velvet, and the sheets were of silk. Ulrich, in describing a lady's wardrobe, counts up twelve dresses, ten caps adorned with pearls, three mantles of white velvet, and a saddle white with silver. The lady had twelve pages all clothed in white, and her horses were covered with cloths of velvet. Was, however, the owner of all these fine things—was the lord of the Middle Ages a capitalist? By no means, and I will prove this as clearly of the Middle Ages as I did of ancient times.

In the Middle Ages slavery did not exist, and the serfdom which took its place gradually softened down to a system of personal bondage, running through many degress and stages, until it became a patchwork of services. This gave the Middle Ages their special feature. The actual living man was no longer regarded as private property, but particular acts to be performed by him were so regarded. It was a system of particular services to be rendered, a system of rights due to one man from another man, and these rights included the performance of particular acts and the delivery of particular products. This is distinctive of the Middle Ages.

Let us look at the economy of the feudal landlord a little more closely. Apart from the work of the serfs, we find the fields of the lord tilled and sown by those from whom socage was due. The services rendered varied in every possible manner and degree, for the dwellers on the free farms, as well as those on other homesteads had each and all to do their part; the former worked for the lord from five to six weeks in the year, and the latter three days a week, without payment.

Over and above the actual work in the fields, let us see what the feudal lord received in other ways. Let us look at what happened on the day when the dues were paid. They consisted of rye, barley, hares, bacon, oxen, pigs, eggs butter, oil, fruits, wax, honey, etc., etc. Those who lived in the villages and towns under the sway of the lord had to work for him according to their trades without payment. The women also paid their dues: pieces of linen, woolen stuffs, etc., etc.; some gave their work only; others had to find the raw material and to work it up as well.

Nor were the dues confined to mechanical labor or to furnishing material objects. Advice was due to the feudal lords on all occasions when he asked for it. If the lord wished to hear a song or see a dance, there were those who had to sing and dance for him. Taste in those days was rather low, and some of the services that the feudal lord could and did exact can hardly be described at the present time.

What, then, was this feudal lord? He was a rich, a very rich man; but he differed from, say, the Rothschilds of the present day, because he could not capitalize his dues.

The feudal lord could consume, or keep for future consumption, all the means of enjoyment which the age placed at his command; but he could not employ them in such a way that they increased; his position rested upon value in use, or, what is the same thing, upon services, and had nothing to do with exchange value or money. It is true that he drew interest from part of his wealth, but this was devoted to procure those luxuries which were not purchased in his own country. Even if he had superfluous money and interest he could not capitalize and increase them by employing them in the production carried on in his own country; for everything was so neatly and regularly arranged, so stable and immovable in this system of services, where labor, duties and burdens were accurately defined that there was no possibility of change.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

PLATFORM

Adopted at the Eleventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July 1904.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system--the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution,this system,through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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"CASTING GLANCES".

To the Daily and Weekly People:—"Social Ethics" of Wichata, Kansas, says De Leon is "casting" glances at the S. P. Are the "glances" weighed with brick bats that keep the S. P. dodging all the time?

Bill. B. Cook.

Dallas, Tex., Jan. 12.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

MAX FORKER DEAD.

Max Forker, one time connected with the Socialist Labor Party, but expelled in 1902 for conduct unbecoming a member of the S. L. P., ended his career in Pittsburg, Pa., on the 20th instant, by suicide. Forker was widely known among the German membership. As a speaker and in other ways he once did good service to the Movement. Unfortunately he fell into evil habits; these gained upon him and were aggravated by evil associations. Forker's demoralization dragged him swiftly down, until the tragic end was reached.

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Owing to the limitations of this office, correspondents are requested to keep a copy of their articles, and not to expect them to be returned. Consequently, no stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Our remedies in ourselves do lie,
Which we ascribe to heaven: the fated sky
Gives us free scope, only doth backward pull
Our slow designs when we ourselves are dull.
Shakespeare.

The Manifesto—foreshadowed last week by the report of Frank Bohn, a national organizer of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and bearing his own signature among the signatories, all of whom, himself excepted, are non-members of S. L. P. or the S. T. & L. A., and several of whom are members of the Socialist party—will be found elsewhere in this issue, under the heading "First Explosion."

The document is a classic and lyric presentation of economic conditions in America; of the relations of capitalist agencies with the A. F. of L. and all other and similar labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class; of the palsy with which the "nobly waging of the class struggle"—so much applauded and profited from by most of the leaders of the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic," alias "Public Ownership" party, and as conducted under the mischievous and despotic rule exercised over the rank and file of their organizations by the labor-lieutenants of Capitalism—has smitten the hitting arm of the Working Class.

As to the remedy proposed, above all, as to the new departure in methods contemplated, we might have wished to see them more fully expressed. Nevertheless, considering the vastness of the subject, the inevitable shortness of the document, and the further circumstance that the convention called for will meet with sovereign powers, after full five months' time for a full discussion in advance—considering all this, the document may be fairly said to go a long way towards justifying the ultimate expectations that last week we said Bohn's report gave a just ground for entertaining.

The columns of The People are opened to Party and Alliance members and friends for the discussion. Let brevity, terseness, and clearness mark all contributions—all the space needed, but no more space than needed. Facts and reason: no declamation.

STEWART VINDICATED.

Who would think that Senator Stewart of Nevada—the old Stewart of "Silver!" "More silver!!" "Still more silver!!!;" that perambulating lump of social and economic ignorance, and whose knowledge begins and ends with the low cunning necessary for political wire pulling and for skinning workingmen—who would have thought that he, aye, he would ever contribute a fact that is worth its weight in gold, not silver, to the store of facts upon which Socialist Science is planted? Well, he did; wonderful as it may seem, Stewart did.

From the gathered facts Socialism teaches that Labor is plundered of the bulk of its product. A part of the product of Labor is kept by Labor. That part is the part that it needs in order to keep itself alive so as to grind out more wealth for the Capitalist Class, and also in order to reproduce needy proletarians who may succeed it when it has grown old and fit only for the scrap-heap. But that part of its own product that Labor keeps is a declining quantity. It declines for two reasons: first, because, Labor being a merchandise under capitalism, the more there is of it in the Labor market, the lower is its price, and privately owned improved machinery steadily dumps a larger supply of Labor on that market; secondly, because Labor is an article whose wants can be squeezed down to almost nothing, and the squeezing-down process be slow and gradual. These combined causes ever reduce the share of Labor, and, consequently, increase the booty of the Capitalist Class. Planted on these facts, Socialist Science establishes that the wealth produced by the workingmen is not for them; that the wealth they produce is lifted wholesale and goes to build the Aladdin mansions of enchantment where their plunderers loll in idle luxury. "Anarchy!" "Atheism!" "Treason to the flag!" are the ejaculations with which the Capitalist Class echoing the words of all usurpers from time immemorial, meet the Socialist statement.

And now comes Senator Stewart and jumps like a goaded bull into the capitalist china-shop. Harried by his fellow Senators on the subject of the smallness of the population of his State—42,533 inhabitants—and its enjoying the luxury of two Senators in the Senate, just as New York with her more than 7,000,000, or California with her 1,500,000, Senator Stewart assailed his tormenters in the course of the debate on the statehood bill with this declaration:

> "These flings at Nevada are both unpleasant and unjust. . . The hundreds of millions which Nevada produced CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO BUILD UP SAN FRANCISCO, BESIDES ERECTING MONUMENTS OF WEALTH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK."

Indeed?! And have the miners of Nevada retired to the magnificent San Francisco and New York homes and other "monuments of wealth" reared out of "the hundreds of millions" which they produced? Who has that wealth, the workingman who remains in his Nevada hovel, or the capitalist who can afford to live in the Capuan delights of San Francisco and New York—both cities just a little bit too far from the field of Nevada labor to go out there every morning and return to their magnificent "monuments of wealth" to spend the night in?

The wealth that Labor produces is lifted by the Capitalist Class—Senator Stewart has vindicated himself by the proof he contributes.

MITCHELL'S RABBIT'S WHEEL.

Things ripen fast in America. Not quite two years ago John Mitchell strutted like a peacock at that year's national convention of the United Mine Workers' Union. In his body there stuck the stolen feathers of a glory that he was claimed to have earned as "the leading champion of Labor," and upon which alleged glory his organization had grown immensely. And now? At this year's national convention of his body the jackdaw stands stripped of the stolen peacock feathers, and its tune has changed. Mitchell now denounces the Federal Judges that two years ago he had praised and upon whose support his "glory" was founded; and, as evidences of the fact that his "glory" of two years ago was founded on a snare and delusion to his organization, we find things to have changed to the point that he admits that "the anthracite section of his organization is on the verge of disruption," and that "local unions have become disloyal." The fraud of the "glory" of two years ago quickly ripened into general recognition of the actual facts—Mitchell had led his Union to defeat: the defeat was glossed over for a while: the truth soon forced itself upon the membership. Well for the membership!

The anthracite strike of 1902, had it been led by a MAN instead of by a labor-lieutenant of the capitalist class, could have placed the Working Class of America a long step forward towards their emancipation. The revolutionary pulse beat high in the ranks of Labor, and, indignant at the overbearing attitude of the anthracite capitalists, public opinion sided with the strikers. Mitchell annulled the advantages of the occasion: he caused one wing of his organization (the bituminous men), to remain at work and thus scab it on the other wing: while the strikers were undergoing privations and the ranks of Labor at large were emptying their pockets to help the men on the firing line, Mitchell's manoeuvre of keeping the bituminous miners at work poured millions into the pockets of the bituminous mine-owners: and finally he submitted to an "arbitration" where the "arbiters" were representatives and upholders of the capitalist class. Once more the electric spark of Labor's class conscious aspirations was led into the ground—and the capitalist breathed freely.

"A lie is like a check drawn on Nature's bank to be returned with the endorsement, 'No effects.'" The lie of "the miners' victory" has proved such a check It could not be otherwise. The result is now perceived. The deceived have fallen away. At this critical moment does John Mitchell give evidence that he has learned (if he erred honestly) or that he turned a new leaf? Not in the slightest. True to his office as a labor-lieutenant of the capitalist class, he forthwith begins to re-fix the wheel in which he expects to cage the rabbit Labor, so that it may entertain itself and others with "fast running and not an inch of progress." Mitchell is getting the wires ready for that rabbit's wheel—a lobby of miners to get legislation from Congress; another "Arbitration Board."

A happy omen is the fact that Mitchell's organization is "on the verge of disruption." He, as all other betrayers of Labor, will denounce as "Union Smasher" whoever expresses joy thereat. It matters not. Mitchell's Unionism means a "rabbit's wheel" system for Labor; the thing cannot be smashed too soon, and room made for that system of Trades Unionism in which Labor's motion will move the Working Class forward and not in a circle.

LABOR UNDER A SPELL.

The charge is often made against Labor agitators that they are more picturesque than truthful, more rhetorical than accurate. When the labor agitator declares that the mills, the yards, the roads on which the workingman is occupied are veritable shambles, in which workingmen are slaughtered. "Pooh-pooh!" laughs many a comfortably seated reader in his arm-chair, "What an exaggeration, and violent figure of speech!" And the pooh-pooher may be sincere. He probably is one of that large majority with whom the press, the paper they read, is not a source of, but a bar to information. Few terms are as truthful and accurate as that of "shambles" applied to the fields of Labor's toil. This month's "Railroad Trainmen's Journal" furnishes a grewsome proof.

Beneficiary assessment notice No. 308, issued to the Lodges of the Brotherhood, of the claims due next month, contains a tabulated list of 110 names together with the ground of the claim. Of the total of 110 members who died of disease, were killed or disabled for life, 73 are among the dead and 27 among the disabled. Again, of the total of 110 men, at least 57 were killed or disabled at work. The number probably is larger, but in this enumeration we have left out all those whose cause of death might have been other than so-called "accident". We have computed only the number of those the cause of whose death or disablement clearly points to "accidents" while at work. The list in the column of "Cause" reads like the report of an army hospital near a battle field—"Crushed between passenger coaches", "killed in wreck", "arm crushed coupling, hand and wrist ankylosed", "right foot crushed, partly amputated", "fell from train, run over", "killed in collision, burned to death", "head crushed", "run over by cars", "crushed by runaway car", "thrown from car by damaged brake, run over", "struck by bridge", "uncoupling car, slipped and fell, run over", "thrown from car and crushed", "right arm crushed, amputated", "knocked down by engine, left hand run over, amputated", "foot caught in frog, amputated", "foot crushed, amputated", "crushed between pole and car", "left leg run over", "killed by explosion of engine", etc., etc., etc!

Our trains shower dividends on one side into the pockets of the stock holder, and fragments of workingmen's limbs—feet, hands, legs, arms—if not workingmen's corpses on the other into the homes of the workers. A rather unequal division. It is a fact that, relative to the number of trainmen along our roads, the numbers of them that fall daily is larger than that of those that fell under Nogi or Stoessel at any one of the encounters around Port Arthur. Infinitely larger is the number of the victims when all the industries are considered. Men must be under a spell to submit to such outrage. Who will not seize and wield the wand to break the spell!

AN UNCOMFORTABLE PILLOW.

The Rochester, N. Y., "Democrat and Chronicle" of the 11th instant is suggestive of an amended version of the Shakespearean maxim "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." The amended version should read: "Uneasy lies the head that lies on thorns."

"The average Socialist needs only to acquire a little private property of his own to be thoroughly cured of any itch of re-distribution"—such is the maxim that the "Democrat and Chronicle" sets up in the double category of a chunk of newly discovered wisdom, and as a soft pillow on which to rest its aching head. As to the chunk, it is neither new nor wise; as to the pillow, it is a thorn.

It is a cardinal principle of Socialism that material interests determine man's actions. It is from the Capitalist camp that denials of this principle are heard, and it is from the Socialist howitzers that the plunging fire of facts is dropped into the Capitalist camp, shattering the capitalists' hypocrisy that their conduct proceeds from "patriotism," "godliness" or any of their favorite masks. The facts demonstrate that, with capitalists as with all other classes, material interests determine sentiment. It is not love of country or godliness that makes one capitalist a protectionist: he is a protectionist out of love for his pocket, his interests requiring protection; it is not love of country that makes another capitalist a free trader: he is a free trader because it is to the interest of his special business to have cheap imported raw material and correspondingly cheaper labor. Taking the two together, it is neither godliness nor love of country that enthuses them for Capitalism; the well-spring of their enthusiasm is the desire to continue to live upon the backs of the workingmen: Capitalism enables them to, Socialism would end their ride. Similarly with the workingman. Human as he is, his actions are obedient to the identical law that governs the acts of all mankind. Stripped of the necessaries for work, and enlightened by Socialist truth, he becomes alive to the interest of his class, and strives for the Socialist Republic. It is quite possible that, the same as free trade capitalists have been known to turn protectionists and vice versa, and the same as free silver mine owners have been known to turn gold bugs and vice versa, according as their material interests changed, so likewise may a Socialist workingman, who becomes the recipient of some wind-fall, cease to be a Socialist, or, as the "Democrat and Chronicle" puts it in its ignorance, be cured of the itch for "redistribution." Such instances are known. None understands the transformation better than the Socialist. It is only the capitalist "intellectuals" who, with their characteristic superficiality, wonder at such changes, and stupidly point to them as instances of "Socialist weakness." Accordingly, the "Democrat and Chronicle's" chunk is no newly discovered wisdom.

Neither is the chunk a soft pillow to rest on. Socialism would have no reason of existence if "windfalls" were frequent enough to raise the working masses out of their wage slave condition. On the contrary, the workings of capitalism see to it that, whatever else may happen with the exceptionally few, the overwhelming majority of the wage-slave class can not acquire even a "little private property." Capitalism does its work of raising recruits for Socialism with even greater thoroughness. It steadily deprives those who have "a little private property" of their havings. It goes by the principle: "To those who have, more will be given; from those who have not, even that little will be taken away." Look at the statistics of failures of small firms. They are swept off like flies. Thus, the instance here and there of a workingman who acquires a little private property only goes to accentuate the bulk of the mass who do not, and whose bulk is ever increased by the steady flow of the freshly dispossessed—all recruits for Socialism, rendering Socialism more certain.

Then there is no balm in Gilead for the capitalist class? None at all. The pillow on which the "Democrat and Chronicle" would rest the aching heads of the capitalist, aching because of their dim apprehension of the wrath that is coming, is, accordingly, a mischievously sharp thorn. Aye, uneasy must rest the head that rests on such a "pillow."

HERTZKA'S MARE'S-NEST.

So thoroughly exploded is all colonization or "co-operative" plans to save society within capitalist rule, that we would not bother with the colonization vagaries of "Freeland," the organ of the Bow, Wash., "Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth," were it not that this concern seems to pivot itself upon a brand-new mare's-nest—Hertzka's "discovery" in economics. Seeing that by its very mare's-nest nature the "discovery" can help to elucidate the relations that actually exist between the capitalist and the workingman, it will not be amiss to take it up.

According to "Freeland" of last December 1, Hertzka's theory in a nutshell is this: "The higher the rate of labor (wages) the lower the cost of products of all machine made goods."

The elucidation can be condensed into the following series of whereases and resolutions:

"Whereas, The capitalist does not exist who would not almost break his neck in order to reduce the cost of the products of his plant;

"Whereas, It is not in his power to affect the rate or cost of any of the elements that go into the cost of his products, except one element;

"Whereas, That one exceptional element is the labor that he employs;

"Whereas, Whatever endeavor he makes in the direction of lowering the rate or cost of this exceptional element, labor, gets him regularly into a peck of trouble with his employes;

"Whereas, According to Hertzka, such attempts at lowering the rate of labor have the opposite effect to the desired one of lowering the cost of products;

"Whereas, According to Hertzka, other things being, of course, equal, the higher the rate of labor the lower will be the cost of products of all machine-made goods;

"Whereas, It is entirely in the hands of the capitalist to raise the rate of labor; and

"Whereas, Such a proposition on his part, so far from running any risk of being answered by a strike, will certainly be answered by huzzas and with the election of the respective capitalist to honorary membership in the respective Union; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the capitalist who does not raise wages as fast as he can get the cash to do so beats any and all the anchorites put together who have macerated their bodies with self-inflicted thorns and lashes; and

"Resolved, That such a capitalist does not hold a candle, in point of long ears, to Goethe's brute, which insisted upon pasturing on a barren heath, when all around him lay juicy and inviting grass meadows."

Much we fear, however, that Hertzka and the Hertzkaites are so wholly deficient in the sense of humor that they are not able to appreciate the joke of their own mare's-nest. But that is always the feature of unconscious humorists.

John Walker, the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" leader, who acted as a barker for John Mitchell at the Jan. 20 session of the convention of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis, when delegate Randall pronounced Mitchell's hands to be "red with the blood of the workingmen" deserves to be canonized. Walker is true to his party's traditions. He throws the Hayeses and Hanfords and Tobin-Careys into the shade. In hurrying to move the expulsion of delegate Randall, delegate Walker, the "Socialist," showed the right instinct. He did well to hustle. His party may not much longer be there to act as a fence for fakirs.

The chunk of red sandstone, thrown by the Faribault, Minn., "Referendum" and that took the Editor of the Milwaukee, Wis., "Social Democratic Herald" in the abdomen causes the gentleman to say in his paper: "It is to laugh!" Those must have been the identical words used by Abner Dean, of whom Bret Harte, in his "Society upon the Stanislaus" narrates:

Then Abner Dean of Angel's raised a
point of order—when
A chunk of old red sandstone took him
in the abdomen,
And he smiled a kind of sickly smile,
and curled up on the floor,
And the subsequent proceedings interested
him no more.

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

(From the Dec. 28, 1904, issue of the Helena, Mont., "Montana News," an organ of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic Party.)

A BOURGEOIS PLATFORM.

The adoption of a city Socialist platform at this time is a piece of work that needs the very closest attention and deepest study possible in order that nothing be said that should not be said, and also in order that all be said that should be said.

In this matter the St. Louis Socialists have produced about as bad a mess, barring a few points, as did the Wisconsin Socialists in their State platform. In their opening paragraph they declare:

"We, the Socialist party of St. Louis, pledge our fidelity to the principles of International Socialism as enunciated in our national platform, and invite all fair-minded men to study the great labor problem in relation to municipal affairs."

Three points of interest are in that paragraph: first, they declare their fidelity to International Socialism, which is, according to the late International Congress, revolutionary Socialism, and then they say in the same breath as "enunciated in our national platform," which is an opportune literary edict. One assertion contradicts the other; the third point is that they invite "fair-minded men to study the labor problem. Now, what is "fair-minded" men?

Then after covering the condition of a number of cities in other States this paragraph appears:

"The public interests are almost entirely ignored!"

Who is the public? if the working class, the above is wrong because the interests of the workers are absolutely ignored, not "almost."

And if it means the bourgeois or exploiting class by the "public" then the phrase is out of order.

In the next paragraph they declare for "public or collective" ownership. Collective ownership is Socialism, but "public" ownership is graftism, the same as the present post-office plan where the postmaster draws about $300 per month to pull political wires while the poor wage slave who does the hard work gets from $50 to $80 per month.

They also declare for "municipal" street railways, "municipal" lighting and heating plants, etc. But after declaring for International Socialism, mind you, International Socialism, they adopt the following paragraph:

"No persons shall be employed on any street railway within the city of St. Louis who have not been resident citizens for at least one year prior to the time of their employment."

That declaration would be a disgrace to a capitalist platform, and would not be "radical" enough for a Bryan-Hearst-Watson platform. Just think of that bourgeois rot? Suppose some of you Socialists get fired out of your jobs in some other State or city, and should go to St. Louis, you could not get into the street car service until you lived there one year; during this time, we naturally suppose, that a Democrat or Republican "mullet-headed" union man would hold the position not because he scabbed at the ballot box, but because he belongs to the union.

After declaring for International Socialism and capitalistic citizenship in order to hold a job, they also declare as follows:

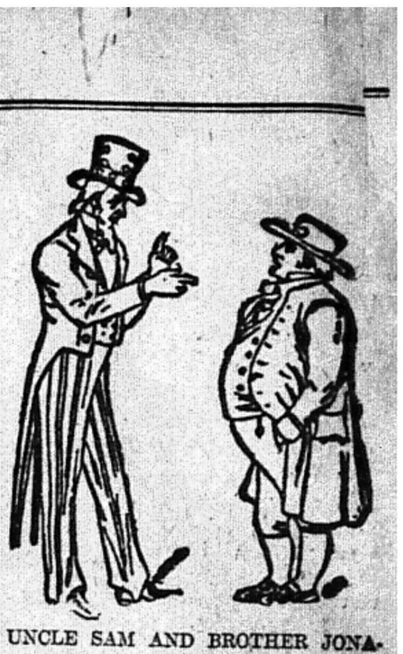
"Only organized labor shall be employed by the city, and the eight-hour work day shall be strictly observed in all municipal work. Where contract work is unavoidable, the contractors shall employ organized labor only."

It appears from that, that the party of the class struggle has relegated itself into a union proposition. All these organized labor parties have been a fake, and have repeatedly been sold in the political market to the highest bidder—the same as they sold out in Montana in the last election for a certain specified sum to endorse the Democratic ticket. And now St. Louis proceeds to narrow the party of the class struggle down to a union proposition which only represents about fourteen per cent. of the workers of the country. Then they take a shot at the tax proposition, as follows:

"That immediate steps be taken to rigidly enforce the laws compelling the big corporations to pay their quota of municipal taxes, in proportion to the full valuation of their taxable property."

What interest has the Socialist party or the workers who make up the party in the tax proposition? None, whatever. The sooner the tax proposition eats up the little fellow and causes him to lose his property the better. This applies to the bourgeois, and he must be driven into the ranks of the proletariat before Socialism can be or rather will be established. It is a wonder they did not say something about arranging the seats in heaven for the little tax payer.

Of course, they declared for an eight-hour day, and when you think of all these kind of immediate demand reforms, it is no wonder that the S. L. P. comrades take such falls out of us. If the comrades don't wake up and get down to business in this proposition of adopting revolutionary platforms in place of the sentimental, reform, meaningless assertions, like the above, why, Bryan will jump in with his crown of thorns and cross of gold and adopt a platform that will put these bourgeois half-baked productions in the shade.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JOTHATHAN—I don't see the consistency of you Socialists ridiculing the idea that Capital and Labor are brothers.

UNCLE SAM—Probably because you are not yet able to be consistent yourself.

B. J.—I don't think.

U. S.—You hit it that time.

B. J.—What do you mean?

U. S.—You don't think. You only think you think.

B. J.—Oh, but I do think. Is it not a fact that Capital and Labor are brothers?

U. S.—No, sir; not by a long shot.

B. J.—What?

U. S.—I mean what I say, and say what I mean.

B. J.—You Socialists are such damne sticklers.

U. S.—We Socialists insist on the correct use of terms.

B. J.—Indeed? Explain yourself.

U. S.—Certainly. You admit, do you not, that Labor produces all wealth?

B. J.—To be sure. Any fool would concede that.

U. S.—Not excepting yourself?

B. J.—No. But what of it?

U. S.—Just this, Jonathan, Labor is the producer of all wealth, Capital is a part of wealth.

B. J.—Granted.

U. S.—Capital being the product of Labor, wherein is your consistency in saying that it is the brother of its creator?

B. J.—The devil!

U. S.—No devil about it. You muddleheads who think you think are absolutely unable to be consistent. L being the creator of wealth it would much better sense to say that Labor the father of Capital. There would some consistency in claiming such lationship, but to say that the creato and the creature are brothers is a absurdity.

B. J.—It does look that way.

U. S.—Consequently, the wherefore of the whatness admonishes us to talk United States; to think and keep thinking until we know we are thinking.

B. J.—I tumble.

U. S.—So, if there is any relationship between Labor and Capital it cannot be the relationship of brothers. It follows that there would be more sense and consistency in saying "the Earth is the mother, Labor is the father and Capital is the child."

B. J.—I begin to think.

U. S.—I hope so. Labor being the father, does it not consistently follow that he has the right to control, spank, direct, influence, protect, command and restrain his child?

B. J.— It do.

U. S.—Far from being brothers, Labor and Capital are to-day deadly enemies. The enmity does not grow out of the true relationship of the two, but because of the fact that the so-called shrewd, cunning schemers have kidnapped the child, controlled, educated and developed all its strength, talents and power and pitted them against its creator. In the hands of the workers Capital would be the obedient, submissive child of its creator, its father, but in the hands of the drone, the parasite, the robber, the pirate, the thief, the capitalist, in short, it becomes, if not the enemy, the deadly instrument in the hands of the enemy, of its own creator.

B. J.—I must acknowledge that you Socialists generally know what you are talking about.

U. S.—It behooves everybody to do the same. Consistency is a jewel but it can't be worn as a breastpin or used as a head-light. Let us not hear you repeat the silly lie: "Capital and Labor are brothers." It is liable to cause suspicions of illegitimacy, bastardy or something worse.

AN OPEN LETTER

To T. L. Lewis, National Vice President, United Mine Workers of America.

Brisban, Pa., Jan. 17, 1905.

T. L. Lewis,
Nat'n. V. Pres't., U. M. W. of A.,
Indianapolis, Ind.,

Dears Sir:

I am in receipt of a circular letter from you dated Dec. 31, 1904, in which you set forth that every mine worker should join the U. M. W. of A., in order to secure higher wages and better conditions for themselves.

I am induced to say, in reply, that if the words, conciliation and arbitration, were obliterated from your fundamental principles that I would consider your claim to do these things, just and right, but these two words spell corruption and fraud by the leaders and misery for the rank and file. No matter what the cost shall be there is no offense too grave for the labor lieutenant of the Mark Hanna stripe to commit.

I have in my possession a letter from John Mitchell, in which he states that the U. M. W. of A. is the greatest single trades union in the world. And that great union cannot abolish the pluck-me-store, which is the greatest curse to the mine worker, and contrary to the laws of the land, on account of the leaders of the union and the operators playing hand in hand. One robs you by the check-off system, the other does it by the pluck-me-store and both make a good haul without labor, all by violating the laws of the country. Mr. Lewis, let me tell you that your organization only exists on paper, for if the check-off system was abolished your union, and the fakirs who are at the head of it, would find a speedy grave.

Here's hoping that the end of Fakirdom is near at hand, when the Mark Hanna labor lieutenants will have to earn their living by working for it. Then we shall organize the workers in one solid compact of solidarity, under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. Such are the wishes of

Yours Respectfully,
Louis Marie

P. S., Please state to me what ri does a miner secure by paying 2 cent. check-off by compulsion?

L. M.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

LETTER-BOX

R. M., LYNN, MASS.—Such questions as "mind," "matter," the "metaphysical posture "thereon, etc., cannot be answered off-hand, and no off-hand answer can be of use. You might read Haeckel's "The Riddle of the Universe." Posted as you will then be, your questions will be more precise, and an off-hand answer may be then given.

J. W. McF., KANSAS CITY, MO.—If there are three values—"use value" and "exchange value" being two of the three—which is the third? We have not made its acquaintance, at least not as a technical term in scientific economics.

J. R., LYONS, IA.—We know of no "Social Labor Party." If what is meant is the "Socialist Labor Party,"—yes, that party is decidedly Socialist. It is the only party of Socialism in the country.

T. J., BUFFALO, N. Y.—That would imply a writing of the speech. Too tough a job. Send on the statistical lucubrations of that statistical genius.

B. D., CHICAGO, ILL.—Charges against The People that "it hits innocent men along with the guilty" are (if the men hit be really "innocent") of the nature of the Russian charges that the Japs fired upon the hospitals of Port Arthur. No doubt some Jap shots hit hospitals; but that is an unavoidable misfortune where hospitals and belligerents are massed together.

C. O. B., PASSAIC, N. J.—A correspondent in The People had previously given the information on the Hungarian translations of S. L. P. literature. It would have been more opportune had the pamphlet "Reform or Revolution" been postponed, and the pamphlet "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" been translated first. It is of more immediate importance. The issues now shaping in the Movement will turn upon the subject handled here.

J. G., NEW YORK—The majority of the Socialist deputies in the German parliament are not revolutionary; they are reformers. They have no choice. They must be reformers, or bourgeois radicals. See the Flash-Lights on the Amsterdam Congress, especially the one on the Dresden-Amsterdam Resolution.

R. O. O., YALE, B. C.—The clipping from the Denver "Daily News" had come in before. That paper's condemnation of the S. L. P. as being "intolerant, bigoted, and unphilosophic in its attitude towards individual capitalists," is a badge of honor to the S. L. P., all the more as the condemnation is accompanied with praises for the S. P. As to disintegration, it is the S. P. that is disintegrating. The Denver "Daily News's" wish to believe the other way is stronger than are its grounds for believing.

P. W., NEW YORK—Whatever pure and simple Union has a death and sick benefit attachment can be prevented by a member from expelling him. These insurance side-shows to the Union have been growing into the main thing, with the Union part as the side-show. The Labor-lieutenants of capital who officer the Union can be hoisted with their petard. By means of the insurance part of the Union they seek to hold the members in subjection; the members need not submit. They have acquired inchoate vested rights in the insurance fund and cannot be deprived of that. All it requires is firmness and intrepidity. The members' rights can be made good in the courts. In that way there is not one of these fakir-dominated insurance Unions that could not be wholly deprived of its alleged Union feature and reduced to an insurance affair, which may be all right in its place. The workingmen who really wish to emancipate themselves from the domination of the fakirs, and have the necessary grit, need, accordingly, not fear for their insurance if they reorganize into a bona fide Union.

W. Y. H., PAWTUCKET, R. I.—The custom of the Popes to adopt a new name upon their election to the pontificate dates back from the early part of the ninth century. It originated with Pope Sergius. His name was Osporco (Swinesnout, or Swinebone). On account of the unseemliness of such a name he changed it to Sergius upon his election. The custom has since been preserved.

D. E. V., COLUMBUS, O.—Well; if you admit all those acts of political and economic stumpetry on the part of your "Socialist" or "Social Democratic" party and still will put up with it, you must be as complaisant as the sailor toward his sweetheart in the old ballad:

"It's no matter what you do
If your heart is only true."

T. E. U., ST. LOUIS, MO.—E. B. Ford, together with the S. P. (Public Ownership party) Local of Faribault, Minn., was, to use his own words, "thrown out of the Socialist party by our capitalist State Committee for 'dictation,' 'narrowness,' 'Marxism,' and 'De Leonism.'"

C. B., CANAL DOVER, O.—First—The S. L. P. members have the right of way in the Bulgaria-Italy discussion. There are many contributions from them now in and not yet published. Should Party members cease to want the floor before the discussion is ordered closed by the N. E. C., your contribution and those of other non-Party members will have a chance. Until then you'll have to wait.

Second—Just watch a man trying to open a door when somebody is resisting. Would you say of that man that he pushed or pulled too vehemently (was too severe)? Hardly. Neither does the S. L. P. Its conduct in the matter is but the law of gravitation manifested on the field of agitation, education and organizing. Carry a heavy weight on your left hand and you must lean heavily to the right. In the measure that your element stops resisting the opening of the door, S. L. P. vehemence will subside and the pushing or pulling will become normal. Then you will all—all such men as you—be with the S. L. P.

F. B G., NEW YORK—The Davis shop was an open shop. Representatives of the International Cigarmakers' Union, anxious for the fee of strike pickets, invited the men of the shop to a meeting to consider matters. There is not a shop in the land, surely not a cigarmakers shop in the city of New York, where there is not just cause for grievances. Nevertheless, the men by a vote of more than four to one decided not to listen to the invitation of the Gompers Union representatives to strike. They voted against striking. They knew too well and did not trust the Gompers gentry. Thereupon those of the men who were not members of the Gompers Union called upon the S. T. & L. A. to organize them, and they were organized. Immediately the Gompers gentry declared a strike against Davis, which the S. T. & L. A. men, of course, refused to obey. It was one more instance of Gompersism—to strike against Labor and not against Capital. The only scabs in the matter were the Gompers gentry.

G. O., NEW YORK—Call at office.

"READER," NEW YORK—The 1904 Presidential vote was this:

Corregan and Cox (S. L. P.)—34,172.
Roosevelt (Rep.)—7,624,489.
Parker (Dem.)—5,082,754.
Debs (S. P.)—402,957.
Swallow (Prohib.)—258,787.
Watson (Pop.)—117,935.

S. S. R., LAWRENCE, MASS.—Aren't you running foul of natural scientists? More than one of them look upon science as a religion. In the same spirit Socialism has been called a religion—the purifying feeling of exaltation that comes from the perception of a truth.

H. T., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.—A young man may have the germs of clearer perception than an older and more experienced one. Just because of this the world progresses; else we would stand stock still where our ancestors stood. But—mark you—only in the measure that such a younger man subordinates with self-respect himself to an older and more experienced man, can he absorb what is wise and right in his senior; and only in that measure can the superior germ in him develop into ultimate and actual superiority, capable of carrying civilization further. Modesty and not insolence is the characteristic of all such younger men. On the other hand, a posture of insolence harms a younger man. Your S. P. breeds insolence. Hence, outside of the A. L. U., which very much paddled its own canoe, it has built up not one single man. On the contrary, by its encouragement of insolence, it has killed all those who joined it and who might have developed. Its "Editors," for instance, have become a laughing-stock to all thinking people. It encouraged insolence obedient to the law of its existence, and that law—anything to kill the S. L. P.—foredoomed your party to certain smash-up.

A. M., NEW YORK—When the Hurwitz libel case against the Editor of The People was called up finally for trial, neither Hurwitz nor his attorney was present. They were hunted for behind doors, under tables and chairs, and even several cuspidors were ransacked for them—but nary a Hurwitz, nor his attorney. The case was dismissed. The matter was fully reported in these columns at the time.

E. M. T., WASHINGTON, D. C.—Of course intelligent workingmen are a nuisance to the labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class.

S. C., CHICAGO, ILL.—Here is an illustration, fresh from the oven, and close to you. One Clark of your party, has just dropped out in disgrace. He was found guilty of a proposal which amounted to a breach of trust. As an employe at your party's headquarters, he offered to purloin and sell certain documents there. Do you imagine the S. L. P. would think of accepting such a man to membership? How is it with your party? The more tainted and disreputable an expelled member of the S. L. P. was, all the quicker was your party to receive him with open arms. More decency would dictate a different policy. And so in every other respect. The S. P. has hindered a calm discussion of the principles that divide the two parties.

W. H. M., DALLAS, TEX.—First—As above to "C. B., Canal Dover, O."

Second—It passeth our understanding how the following passage in a letter written to you by the Editor of The People in 1901:—"The breath in the nostrils of fake movements, or of mistaken movements that start honestly, but, being unsound, must generate and degenerate into fakirism, is just that idea that 'the real party,' etc., has not yet turned up. Starting with this impression, the best efforts are not put forth in behalf of that which is, and energy is expended and allowed to go to waste scanning the horizon for 'the real thing.' Whether or not the S. L. P. is THE party of the future, I know not; and I care not. All I know is that, if another party is to be THE party, then, the day of its birth, whether soon or late, and the safety of its birth, DEPEND ENTIRELY UPON THE CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT NOW UPON THE S. L. P., and making that the best we can. Only by doing this could that problematical party of the future be what it should"—it passeth our understanding how that passage can be quoted in support of the S. P. We could understand how a person may disagree with the line of reasoning in that passage, and, disagreeing, waste his time on the S. P. But it passeth our understanding how affiliation with the S. P. can be grafted upon that passage.

B. B. C., DALLAS, TEX.—First—The status of the working class of Switzerland is what it is everywhere else under capitalism. In plain view of the Mont Blanc, inhaling that magnificent atmosphere, and wielding the "referendum" to-boot, the mass being un-class-conscious they are grandly exploited, and those who live in the cities, live in tenements redolent of the unmistakable stench of a New York tenement house.

Second—We would say that appeals from the N. E. C., as now constituted, would come under the system of proposed amendments to the constitution. The call for a general vote would have to come from organizations.

S. P., NEW YORK—As you are a New Yorker you must surely have read the Eugene Sue story "The Iron Trevet" that was published in the Daily. Do you remember "the man of the furred cap?" Usurpers ever keep calumniators in pay to impose upon the credulity of the masses in revolutionary times.

A. A. F., ALBANY, N. Y.—Must not the members in most of the Gompers Unions swear allegiance to the Union above any other organization? What else does that imply but the possibility of conflict with other workingmen organizations? The typos are an instance. It is the old guild over again. The particular guild's hand raised against all others' throats.

W. Y., NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—Eight-hour and child-labor laws are essentially dust in the eyes of the workers. Whatever relief may lie in them is essentially lost through the circumstance that they are left to the enforcement of the political agencies of the capitalist class, the class in whose interest it is to break or scuttle them. As to child-labor, recent occurrences illustrate the fact. The President's message runs to the effect that the best laws on child-labor are spoiled by conditions in other States. Recent investigations show that the law is glaringly violated everywhere. As to eight-hour laws, experience has shown that they do not cause the employment of more men; on the contrary, improved machinery is introduced needing fewer men, and those who are kept at work have to work with so much greater intensity. The mortality among such workingmen has increased appallingly. Now, then, for these reasons an S. L. P. man in Congress will refuse to allow his vote to go for such deceptions. Congress not being a "voluntary," but an "obligatory" gathering, the S. L. P. Congressman will expose the swindle of all such bills and refuse to vote for them. At the present stage of capitalism no economic improvement can be brought on and maintained by political legislation. It can be brought on only by the economic organization of workers, class-consciously organized for the overthrow of capitalism, and ready to seize whatever temporary advantages they can—just as an army moves along temporary trenches. Such an organization will on election day strike for the total overthrow of capitalism. Hence its political representatives may not accept "crumbs."

H. K., RED LAKE FALLS, MINN.—The valuable clipping you forwarded becomes unusable because you state neither the date of its publication, nor the place of publication, nor the name of the paper publishing it. The request for accuracy in these matters has been often made. It is here repeated. Forward the needed information.

O. M. J., OAKLAND, CAL.—A reliable report of Mr. Lewis' address on what he calls the materialist conception of history would be useful here. An article is in preparation on the subject.

H. F., CINCINNATI, O.—First—Next time you write, do not write on both sides of the sheet, ABOVE ALL do not skip a page and then go back to it. One gets on the verge of delirium tremens having to travel backward and forward for the sequence of the pages.

Second—Montaigne's works are in four vols. The principal one of his essays is entitled "Apology for Raymond Sebonde." If you read that, then, whether you read Shakespeare or Stevenson, Goethe, or Bacon, or Haeckel, or Huxley, you will run across portions and chunks of that essay. They all drank at the deep well of Montaigne. The rest of his essays lead up to and supplement that one, which was one of his latest. Montaigne attempts no system. What is said of Shakespeare of course holds good of Montaigne in this respect. If you have no time to read all these others, then read by all means the essay, "On some lines of Virgil." The title has virtually nothing to do with the subject, almost as little as babes in the wood have to do with Artemus Ward's rollicking speech "The Babes in Wood."

O. N. M., WILMERDING, PA.—The Eugene Sue serial will be resumed in the Daily just as soon as there is cash to have them type-written, or some good friend will do the work gratis. Three more of the stories are ready in manuscript. They are all three prime—"The Abatial Crosier" (9th Century), "Joan of Arc" (15th Century), and "The Chariot of Death" (30 B. C.). Such matter cannot go to the printers in manuscript. Even now these gentlemen perform miracles with ordinary copy. It must be type-written.

C. J. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.—First—The average wage for 1890 was $445; for 1900, it was $436.

Second—The calculation of the percentage of capitalist, middle and working classes in 1900 involves an extensive statistical inquiry for which this office has not the force. Roughly estimated, the percentages are: sixty working class, thirty middle class, and ten capitalist class, barely three per cent. of the latter of whom actually run things as the plutocracy or "frenzied financiers."

F. L., NEW YORK—Under Socialism, money ceases to be capital. Under Capitalism, money is one of the essentials for production. See on this head the S. L. P. leaflet "Money." What Socialism will do is to put in the hands of the people the necessary machinery for production. In that way whoever wants to work can work without having to pay blackmail to a man who may have such machinery. As under Socialism money can be no part of that machinery, money need not be expropriated.

S. A. E., TACOMA, WASH.—The term "intellectual," in quotation marks, has acquired a technical sense in the Movement. It means men who have had more or less schooling in the sense of a liberal education, but who have missed the principal part of what such schooling should teach a man. The principal part of a college education is to enlarge a man's horizon so that he may learn and know what there is to be known, and how to acquire such information. The "intellectual" imagines that to speak and write grammatically, and to display some other subsidiaries of real education means knowledge. Accordingly, when he gets into the Movement he is full of conceit. And since he knows nothing of the Movement, imagines he knows it all, and never learns; he seeks to palm off his grammatically worded ignorance as superior to the but too often ungrammatically expressed sound sense of the class-conscious workingman. Consequently, the "intellectual" looks down upon the workingman and all real workingman's issues. No "intellectual" can comprehend the meaning of Trades Unionism, for instance. The obverse of the medal, one face of which is the "intellectual's" supercilious contempt for the workingman, is his venomous hatred of any one who has really profited by what a college education should truly teach. The fury of Jaures towards Guesde illustrates the point. Of course, our American "intellectuals" are infinitely below Jaures. He may serve as a clean illustration.

L. P., LYNN, MASS.—Now for your fifth question: Would Socialism proceed to crush the radicals? We know of no reason why it should.

R. C. G., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The "skilled mechanic, whose skill is yet intact or mainly so in his form of craft Union or organization" is a proletarian, and not a middle class man. The middle class man belongs, along with the upper capitalist class man, under the generic class distinction of "property-holders," that is to say, of holders of a property by virtue of which they may appropriate the fruits of the labor of him who has no such property. The only difference between the middle class man and the upper capitalist is that the property of the middle class man is too small for effective competition with his upper capitalist cousin, on account of which he can only exploit fewer workingmen and has himself to work. But both he and his upper capitalist cousin have ONE COMMON CHARACTERISTIC — the OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL. This is the line of demarkation between the proletariat (the man who owns no property by virtue of which he can appropriate the fruits of the labor of others) and the capitalist (middle and upper), who does own such property (capital). "Skill," "knowledge" and such other mental acquirements or gifts are not "capital." Superficial bourgeois economists often talk of a man's knowledge as his "capital," and they frequently do so in order to blur the class line. So far from being "capital," knowledge and skill generally are just so much more wool on the body of the workingman sheep for the capitalist to clip. Hence capitalists favor manual training, etc. Capital is a tangible thing subject to touch and sight, to measure and weight.

W. W. E., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; E. W., ST. CHARLES, MO.; A. L. W., BOSTON, MASS.; J. B., NEW YORK; J. OMAHA, NEB.; M. H., DENVER, COLO.; H. L., NEW YORK; H. K., RED FALLS LAKE, MINN.; E. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.; S. H., READING, PA.; H. J. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; B. R., BUFFALO, N. Y.; H. A., CLEVELAND, O.—Matter received.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE A. L. U. AND THE S. T. & L. A.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I herewith enclose for publication the following correspondence which took place between the undersigned and the American Labor Union Journal.

W. T.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Jan. 17, 1905.

(From the American Labor Union Journal of Nov. 1904.)

"THE RING OF TRUE METAL.

"That our reasons for boycotting the label of the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union upon the product of the so-called union shoe factories of Chicago and St. Louis, are winning the approval of thoughful men everywhere is evident from the many letters which we are receiving from all parts of the country. We publish the following as a fair sample of the others:

"'Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 1, 1904.

"'Editor A. L. U. Journal:

"'Dear sir,—Upon reading your article, "Why We Boycott the Label," reproduced in the Daily People of Sept. 21, I desire to become better acquainted with your paper. The exposure of the shameless and dastardly sell-out committed upon the workingmen in the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union by Tobin and his ilk breathes a new spirit and is a revelation, healthy and encouraging, of the dawn of a new era in trades unionism.

"'May you continue in your work until you have succeed in smashing the corrupt and fossilized A. F. of L., a stumbling block to the emancipation of the working class.

"'Kindly send me a copy of the September and October issues of your Journal.

"'Yours truly,

W. T.'"

In response to the above letter, I received a communication from the secretary of the A. L. U. Journal, thanking me for the kind remarks and asking me to join as an individual member, to which the following letter was sent in reply:

Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 12, 1904.

Mr. Clarence Smith,
Gen. Secretary A. L. U., Chicago, Ill.

Dear sir:

Your letter in response to my request received and contents noted. Cannot accept your invitation to become an individual member of your organization for several reasons. I am and have been for the past four years a member of the Socialist Labor Party, an organization that has been waging relentless and unceasing warfare on the old style pure and simple trade unions, exposing the corrupt and idiotic practices of their labor fakirs whenever and wherever they showed their hands. The hopelessness and folly of the attempts made to purify and regenerate these unions from within gave birth to the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, with whose principles and objects you are no doubt familiar. While numerically weak, it is in soundness of principle and knowledge of the labor movement as strong as Gibraltar and its influence is bound to prevail in the near future. I think your organization is to a large extent following in the footsteps of the S. T. & L. A., although it has not yet taken a definite stand in favor of either the S. L. P. or the S. D. P. The logrolling policy of the S. D. P. on the political field and its scabherding and traitorous tactics on the economic field, the recent Boot and Shoe Workers' strike being the latest testimony of the latter policy, do not deserve the support of a true workingmen's organization. There is, however, a large and steadily increasing number of honest and intelligent men within the S. D. P. who are disgusted with its tactics and who will in time withdraw from it. Signs of protest from individual members and even organizations are an indication of a rebellion being already in the process of formation.

Patiently and with keen interest do I look forward to that day, as also to the day when your organization will see fit to come out openly in favor of the S. L. P. In the meantime I will keep in touch with your organization through your journal and will watch developments.

Yours truly.

W. T.

(A mistake crept into our correspondent's above given second letter. He says: "Your organization (the A. L. U.) is to a large extent following in the footsteps of the S. T. & L. A., although it has not yet taken a definite stand in favor of either the S. L. P. or the S. D. P." The second part of this sentence is an error of fact. The preamble attached to the constitution of the A. L. U. "adopts the platform of the Socialist party of America in its entirety". By that the A. L. U. took its stand in favor of the S. D. P. It may, however, be here added that ten to one the A. L. U. will go up in the new organization that, ten to one, will result from the conference that is to meet on next June 27, and the call for which issued mainly from A. L. U. men. Accordingly, there is hardly any doubt that the blot of S. D. P. endorsement will be expunged.—ED. THE PEOPLE.)

REFRESHINGLY CONFIRMATORY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—About those "Volcanic Rumblings"—that one of Ford's was a stunner. It is just as things stand in Minnesota. I could tell Ford where those locals of the "Socialist" party are in Northern Minnesota, that fixed it up with the Democrats. They are at St. Hillaire and Thief River Falls, in this county of Red Lake. If the members of those two locals are really working for Socialism, it is along the lines of middle class politics, for didn't both Joe Winkyer, head of Local St. Hillaire, and Jacobson, head of Local Thief River Falls, tell us so? Winkyer told me that we (the Socialist Labor Party) are "too radical." We should try and win the Populists and Democrats by being nice to them. Jacobson told me, in one of our tilts, that he did not have any use for the working class: it was no use to try and bring them around; "Socialism must come through the farmers," he said.

Another one of their members, Berg, of Local St. Hillaire, allowed himself to be elected alderman through capitalist politics. He held his office clear through, and when I called him about it, he said it made no difference in local politics; that more could be accomplished his way than any other. These are the kind of "Socialists" that Ford refers to in his paper, and justly denounces.

There is another character here in this county, in the Social Democratic, alias Socialist, alias Public Ownership, party. That man is N. L. Peterson of Plumer. He is beginning to see the cat! He is a Dane. He brought his Socialism, a wild and easy kind, with him from Denmark. He is a student. He reads the Weekly People, and when two years ago, he said we were wrong on the trades union question: were "union smashers," and so forth, a month ago he told me that the Socialist Labor Party is absolutely right in its tactics and propaganda. He hoped his party would learn a lesson from us. There you are! For such men there is hope. They and the Fords will either be ground to dust in their own movement or they will sooner or later come to us. Not by "unity" committees, but by reading our Weekly People.

Hard work is what tells! It's the Weekly People that is doing the educating. So let us put our hard work into it. Push it, comrades. Help spread its good influence! Get subscribers!

Henry Kaufer.

Red Falls, Minn., Jan. 2.

CONFIRMATION UPON CONFIRMATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—It was only a short time ago that I wrote to the Daily and Weekly People in regard to the political conditions here. It might look as if I was trying to rush into print or parade myself. However, this is not my motive. It is absolutely necessary that I write, as there is a volcanic eruption here. To keep quiet under the circumstances would, in my mind, be no less than craven.

In my recent communication (under the heading Refreshingly Confirmatory—Ed.) I showed the double dealing of the politicians in the "Socialist," alias Pub-Ownership party. I mentioned *some* names, among them Joe Winkyer, who ridiculed our "narrowness." I did not then have the present evidence of Winkyer's "broadness." The enclosed from the local press will show how true Winkyer has been to his party.

These are the kind of men that Ford of Faribault, has exposed. I don't see how any comrade can think of "Italy" in connection with them.

HENRY KAUFER.

Red Lake Falls, Minn., Jan. 15.

[Enclosure.]

JOEL WINKJER LANDS.

St. Hillaire Man on the Dairy and Food Commission.

Governor Johnson on Monday announced the appointment of Joel G. Winkjer, manager of the St. Hillaire creamery, as an inspector of the dairy and food department to succeed Prof. J. A. Wilson of Thief River. Mr. Winkjer is a graduate of the State agricultural college and has had much special training in dairy and creamery work, besides having the practical experience of creamery management for nearly ten years, and in this work he has been eminently successful, every creamery under his charge being a financial success. The St. Hillaire creamery is paying good profits to the stockholders, and Mr. Winkjer has taken a number of prizes at State butter contests.

The new appointee is familiar with the needs and conditions of the dairy industry in the Red River valley, and his work will be largely in this section. That he will be a valuable member of the dairy and food staff goes without saying.

In the appointment of Mr. Winkjer the Governor has acted wisely. Mr. Winkjer is a representative Scandinavian, and a radical Democrat. He is also as well qualified for the work as any other man in the State, and his nomination is a concession to the demands of the Red River valley.

IT WAS JIU JITSUED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Reading the "New York Tribune" today, I saw therein a report headed, "Bared As An Anarchist—Englishman Has Money, Trade, Health—Brings Letter To Socialist." This report tells of the detention of William Bishop at Ellis Island. This case shows that Capitalism knows Socialism is international, so its petty officials fight it wherever they can. I don't know Bishop, but that it not essential. It is not so much Bishop as the fact that Capitalism is beginning to throw mud at the clean cut revolutionary Socialist movement, and must therefore be hit back; which I hope will be done.

E. F.

Trenton, N. J., Jan. 17.

UNNECESSARY TROUBLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In answer in the letter box of the Weekly of Jan. 7, 1905, under the heading, "To Whom it May Concern," appears the following: "J. L. Kaufman, 230 Van Ness avenue, San Francisco, Cal., desires a printed or writen copy of an article by McCormick, of Seattle, Wash., entitled 'Can a Socialist Be a Scab.'" Any comrade who contemplates sending a copy to Kaufman need not bother himself, as it would not be very likely to ever come to the hands of said Kaufman. Mr. Kaufman has gone to parts remote, and in all likelihood has followed the example of the party of many names, and will henceforth be known by some other name than Kaufman. The Bogus Socialists mourn his disappearance to the extent of $37, which by a peculiar coincident vanished at the same time, but "Dots max's nix's ouse." They are used to it, or at least ought to be by this time.

Mr. Kaufman is the same scab Socialist from Seattle, Denver, Omaha, Chicago, and New York, who was exposed as a crook and grafter in the Seattle "Socialist," and who was made one of the leaders in San Francisco. When our speakers exposed him the Kangs howled "It's a S. L. P. lie." When we read it out of their official organ they howled: "It is the spite work of the Titus," and that it was only an individual. They stood pat, and it has only been of late that they found out.

FRED SIBERT.

San Francisco, Cal., Jan. 11.

DETROIT KARL MARX CLUB.

On Saturday, January 14, an organization to be known as the Karl Marx Study Club, was affected in this city. It will meet at 273 Gratrot avenue, every Saturday at 8 p. m., until other arrangements can be made. The following are the officers for the season:—financial secretary-treasurer, Adolph Ahlers; recording secretary, Arthur Kline. B. Lopale is the temporary chairman. A new chairman will be elected at each meeting. The rules this year will be the same ones used last year.

The club starts its work at the beginning of Karl Marx's Capital.

New additions to the club are welcome.

A. Kline.

Detroit, Mich.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 380, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

THE TOUR OF COMRADE FRANK A. BOHN.

On November 20 began the transcontinental tour of Comrade Frank A. Bohn. The comrade has visited Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, from which he will go to Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, and then return East. When first conceived, the tour was undertaken largely as a means to get Comrade Bohn to California, the S. L. P. State Executive Committee of that State having engaged the comrade for a three months' agitation and organization tour there. But that aspect of the matter vanished completely when the result of the late election became known. A situation utterly different from what we have had before, confronts us today. The "safe and sane" Democracy has been smashed at the polls. Ne plus ultra capitalism has been placed in the saddle in a manner that must cause secret fear in the hearts of its more far-seeing representatives, it being more than they probably bargained for. As a result, the lines of the class struggle will soon become more plainly visible in our political life than ever before. During such times men will learn more in a month than they would otherwise learn in a year. Their minds will be open. Therefore, now is the time for the Socialist Labor Party to do its utmost to agitate, educate and organize. The tour of Comrade Bohn appeared desirable when first mentioned, Looked at in the light of the present situation, it has become imperative.

To make possible the uninterrupted success of this tour, the National Executive Committee, who have assumed full responsibility for the work, financially and otherwise, must be supported. We therefore call upon all members and friends of the Socialist Labor Party to contribute to a fund to sustain the work now undertaken, said fund to be known as the "General Agitation Fund" under which head all contributions will be publicly acknowledged. Let those who can give send their contribution, but wherever possible instead of making one contribution and then be done with, let those who ardently desire to further this work pledge a small weekly contribution in an amount in keeping with their means and thus insure a steady income. Should the response to this call warrant it, other organizers will be put on the road as fast as means permit.

Public acknowledgements of the amounts received will be made once a week in the Sunday People and will then appear in the subsequent issue of the Weekly People.

Trusting that this will meet with the response the situation demands, we are, Fraternally yours,

The National Executive Committe, Socialist Labor Party, Henry Kuhn, Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with January 21 the following amounts were received for the above fund to sustain the agitation work of Comrade Frank Bohn:

Lewis F. Alrutz, Schenectady, N. Y.	$1.00
K. Georgewitch, Schenectady, N. Y.	.27
E. A. Goodwin, Lakewood, N. J.	.20
James C. Dailily, Turtle Creek, Pa.	1.00
R. A. Ottorn, Vale, B. C., Can.	3.00
T. F. Dugan, Bisbee, Ariz.	5.00
Wm. Jurgens, Bisbee, Ariz.	5.00
Adolph Anderson, Port Angeles, Wash.	1.00
Edward McCormack, New York.	1.00
23d A. D., New York	1.10
James Keeley, Windsor, Vt.	.50
J. Shankman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.75
M. W. Fennell, Maryville, Ill.	.50
Mat Lechner, New York	1.00
Paul Sabsch, Clinton, Mass.	1.00
M. Weinberger, New York (on 15 cents weekly pledge)	.15
Miss C. Weinberger, New York, (on 15 cents weekly pledge)	.15

Previously ackn.wledged $228.n6

$22.62

Previously acknowledged $228.66

HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary.

N. E. C.– SUB COMMITTEE.

egular meeting held Friday evening, uary 20, at 2 to 6 New Reade St., w York. Roll call present: Gillhaus, ineally, Crawford, Eck, Lechner, Ol-, Anderson, Teichlauf, Bahnsen and ossack. Absent, Burke and Donohue. Rudolph Katz, who was not present the first meeting, appeared, signed e pledge to the party and was seated. rd J. Galk of West Hoboken, N. a letter declining the appointment as he could not attend to the duties.

Financial reports since last meeting; For week ending January 7, receipts, $19.20; expenditures, $35.18; for week ending January 14, receipts, $83.12; expenditures, $140.90.

An agitation committee, consisting of Kinneally, Lechner and Katz, was elected, to have for its duty the work of planning out national agitation and methods for financing the same, for recommendation to the Sub Committee.

A committee on Party Press, consisting of Hossack, Teichlauf, Walsh, Crawford and Olson, was elected. This committee to have for its duty the devising of ways and means to make more efficient the Daily and Weekly People and the Labor News Co., and to submit such plans to the Sub Committee for consideration.

National Secretary Kuhn reported on the action he had taken in the case of William Bishop, a member of the British S. L. P., whom the inefficient immigration officials at Ellis Island, because he came recommended to the National Secretary of the S. L. P., had attempted to keep out of the country, where the S. L. P. is a legally recognized political party in a majority of the States. The Washington authorities realizing the stupid blunder made by their New York understrappers hastily ordered Bishop's release. The action of the National Secretary in securing the services of Counselor Patterson to handle the case, was endorsed.

The following sections report election of officers: Cincinnati, Ohio; Salem, Mass.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Passaic County, N. J.; Tacoma, Wash.; Essex County, N. J.; Lackawanna County, Pa.; New Haven, Conn.; Chicago, Ill.; Los Angeles, Cal., and Seattle, Wash.

Indiana S. E. C. reports the election of Theo. Bernine of Section Indianapolis as member of N. E. C.; Missouri S. E. C. reports election of John J. Ernst to same body; Minnesota S. E. C. reports election of C. W. Brandborg of Henning as member of N. E. C., and Texas S. E. C. reports election of A. S. Dowler, of Finlay, as N. E. C. member.

Correspondence—On Bohn tour; from Section Salt Lake City, Utah; Shaw of Reno, Nev.; Hall of Roseburg, Ore.; Section Portland, Ore., Dugan of Bisbee, Ariz.

On agitation: Section Chicago, Passaic County, N. J.; Yonkers, N. Y., and Montreal, Can. On agitation by correspondence bureau: W. W. Cox, elected by Illinois S. E. C. Dr. Dean elected by Washington S. E. C. From General Organizer Bohn, reports from Chicago, East St. Louis and Moberly, Mo.

John Lidberg of St. Paul, Minn., and F. Herman and A. C. Park, both of Lincoln, Neb., make a gift to the people of loan certificates held by them.

The Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics ask for certain information for their blue book. National Secretary instructed to give it. Canadian N. E. C. remits for Amsterdam Congress stamps; Section Philadelphia reports suspension of Louis Katz for six months; D. Rehder elected temporary secretary of S. E. C. Application from Pittsburg, Pa., for a charter for Section Allegheny County. California S. E. C. reports meeting of new S. E. C. with list of officers. Geo. Anderson is again elected secretary.

The following action was taken by the committee: Section New York instructed to elect member of this committee to fill vacancy caused by declination of Gallo. Pittsburg comrades notified that a charter cannot be granted to Allegheny County while other section charters within the county are in existence. National Secretary's action on other matters to which he had attended endorsed.

Most all of the business brought before the committee reflects a healthy state of affairs in the party generally.

JOHN HOSSACK,
Recording Secretary.

CANADIAN S. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C., London, December 31. Comrade Weber chairman. Weitzel, absent; excused. Minutes adopted as read.

Communications: From Samuel Lyons, organizer of former Section Hamilton, sending in full report and money order for $1.64. Received and filed. Secretary instructed to ask for the books. Communication from F. Martin, late of Section Toronto. Received and filed.

The secretary was instructed to write Section London, requesting settlement for the Amsterdam Special Assessment stamps at once.

Secretary instructed to write organizer of each Section urgently requesting names, addresses and occupations of each and every member of Section.

The People's agent of Section London handed in list of expired subscriptions for Weekly People, throughout Ontario. The Secretary reported having received from The People a list of past and present subscribers to the Weekly People. The Secretary was instructed to write late subscribers and have them renew if possible and keep in touch with the others.

The National Secretary was ordered to write each Section to find out what amount their members can give, either individually or as a Section, towards an Organizers' and Canvassers' Fund.

W. D. Forbes, Recording Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA S. E. C.

A special meeting of the State Committee was held on January 13. Comrade Durner in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Bills:—From Seidel, for expenses in attending N. E. C. meeting, $5.00; ordered paid.

Communications:—From Seidel, reporting N. E. C. meeting. Read and ordered filed. From Comrade Markley, stating that the former Section Allegheny County which had left the Party wished to make application to return to the Socialist Labor Party; also that he and Comrade Clever had attended a meeting of former Section Allegheny County, and requested that the former Section be accepted. The results of a vote taken by the former Section are as follows:—thirty-eight votes in favor of returning to the S. L. P., eighteen in favor of joining the S. P., and twelve in favor of remaining where they are. From Markley, telegram, stating that the former Section Allegheny County consists of about 125 members and they have decided to stand by their referendum vote. From former Section Allegheny County, submitting following letter:

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 8, 1905.

Mr. Katz,
410 Green Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

To the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, S. Katz, Secretary.

Dear Comrades:—

At a meeting of Section Allegheny County, Pa., the undersigned committee was elected and instructed to make formal application to your body for admission into the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania as Section Allegheny County. This action is based on the returns of the referendum vote. We herewith make formal application for a charter. Please answer at once as we have been ordered to report at a special meeting to be held on Sunday, 22d inst.

Respectfully yours,
Address, Emil E. Remlinger,
410 S. 20th St.
Pittsburg, Allegheny County, Pa.

Committee—
D. E. Gilchrist,
W. G. Cowen,
Emil E. Remlinger,
W. H. Thomas,
Fred J. Kennington,

From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, upon the matter of former Section Allegheny County. From Shelly, forwarding thirty cents for due stamps, and requesting that a three months' trial subscription be sent to prospective subscriber. From Altoona, Comrade McAlamey, requesting more of the N. A. F. matter. From Scranton, stating they will forward money for assessment stamps.

It was decided to have 1,000 circulars as drawn up by the State Secretary printed and distributed to The People readers throughout the State. It was decided to take up for discussion at the next meeting of S. E. C. the advisibility of changing the form of membership of the S. E. C. to that of the present N. E. C.

The following resolutions were drawn up by the State Secretary, and adopted by the committee, which were ordered sent.

RESOLUTIONS:

Whereas, It appears from the communication from Comrades Markley and Clever of Section Braddock, that the S. L. P. membership in Allegheny County are confident that the material represented by the body requesting admission into the S. L. P. will prove to be good S. L. P. timber, and they are furthermore fully in sympathy with the plan of re-organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the S. E. C. hereby endorses the request of the old Section Allegheny County for re-admission into the S. L. P. and advises the N. E. C. to grant charter as requested; be it further

Resolved, That the S. E. C. hails with joy the return of our former comrades into the ranks of the advance guard of Proletarian Emancipation.

Receipts, thirty cents; expenses, sixty-five cents.

D. Rehder, Recording Secretary.

NEW YORK S. E. C.

Meeting of January 14, at headquarters, Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, New York city. Moren chairman. Kihn, Wegener and Ferguson absent. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Communications:—From L. A. Boland, Troy, N. Y., requesting information on the right of a member to look over and make copies of Grievance Committee and Section minutes. From Secretary S. P. Shaw, Section Rensselaer County (Troy, N. Y.), asking if "secretary must deliver to a defendant or a plaintiff a copy of the minutes of a Grievance Committee, after same has been read to the Section and passed on, with both of said parties present at reading of same, or should he hold them subject to S. E. C. call?" As both of these letters bore on the same matter the S. E. C. considered them together and passed the following decision on them:

A plaintiff or a defendant, for the purposes of appeal, has right of access to the minutes of both the Grievance Committee and the Section. The secretary of a Section is not required to furnish said plaintiff or defendant with copies of either of these minutes, but must permit said plaintiff or defendant to make copies of them as his or her appeal may require.

From Section Rensselaer, announcing appointment of committee to organize Section in Albany, and enclosing portion of revised by-laws for approval. Secretary instructed to request complete revised by-laws so that they may be judged in their entirety.

From Section Westchester County, asking for more N. A. F. matter. From Gloversville, acknowledging receipt of same. From Section Monroe County, on "Der Arbeiter." Secretary reported having seen Manager Jager in reference thereto. From A. M. Offen, Palmyra, N. Y., applying for membership-at-large. Referred to Section Onondaga County, with instructions to apply to S. E. C. when membership card is adjusted. From E. Moonelis, recommending Max Rosenberg for new Secretary of Correspondence Bureau. Comrade Kuhn reported having requested A. Zimmerman to accept the same position. It was decided to request both comrades to attend the next meeting of the S. E. C.

Committee on tabulation of vote for member new N. E. C., reported that J. J. Kinneally had polled eighty-three votes; Boris Reinstein, seventy-two; Adam Moren, sixty-two; Charles Zolot, fifty-three; Harry Gunn, five; Bengt. Anderson, four; total, 279. Sections Erie, Monroe, Onondaga, Schenectady, Rensselaer, Newburg, Westchester, Scandinavian and New York, took part in the election.

Draft of blank for Correspondence Bureau submitted by Secretary C. C. Crawford, was adopted for use among sympathizers. A blank for use among Party members was then drawn up by the committee.

Comrade Kuhn was appointed to draw up a circular letter urging Sections to secure notary commissions, in order to decrease expense of securing signatures to nomination petitions; and outlining the legal procedure necessary to obtain them.

Organizer of Section New York reported formation of German branch, pursuant to the instructions of this committee.

Financial report for December: Receipts, due stamps, $57.40; campaign fund, $44.63; balance, treasury defunct Section Albany, $5.00; N. A. F. (old), per section New York, $25.14; mileage, $14.10; total, $146.27. Expenditures, to N. E. C., due stamps, $70.00; N. E. C., share campaign fund, $26.07; N. E. C., N. A. F. (old), $22.63; postage and sundries, $1.12; balance, $26.45; total, $146.27. Adopted.

Adjournment followed.

Justus Ebert, Secretary.

ILLINOIS CORRESPONDENCE BUREAU.

The Illinois S. E. C. have elected comrade W. W. Cox to take up the work of the Correspondence Bureau in the State, the purpose of which is to pull together all the isolated revolutionary elements in the state and connect them with the Party organization for the performance of such agitation work as such men can do.

Any reader of The People or sympathizer in the state of Illinois who desires information about the Socialist Labor Party or the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, or who has any information of value to either of these organizations, is herewith requested to connect with the undersigned. Information about matters of the Party press, such as subscriptions, subscription cards, books, pamphlets, leaflets, will be cheerfully given.

Address: W. W. Cox, 522 43rd street, East St. Louis, Ill.

DEBATE IN DETROIT, MICH.

"Resolved, That the present competitive system of production is on the whole preferable to any practicable form of Socialism," is the subject of a public debate to be held Saturday, January 28, at Miami Hall, 96 Miami avenue, Detroit, which will begin at 8 p. m.

The affirmative will be upheld by the Rev. Paul Zeigler, Pastor of St. Barnabas' and Mariners' Churches, Mr. W. L. Blauvelt, superintendent of coke ovens at the Solvay Process Co., living at 40 Mott avenue.

For the negative:—Comrades Meyer and Richter.

There will be four speeches with no rebuttals.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYES.

At its last two meetings the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Alliance, Local 1, Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, initiated six new members. The next meeting will be held, as usual, at E. Fischer's residence, 177 East Eighty-fifth street, near Third avenue, Manhattan, where meetings are held every Wednesday at 8.30 p. m. John J. Kinneally, General Secretary of the S. T. & L. A., will be present. Comrades, sympathizers and readers of the Daily People, who are waiters, bartenders, cooks, store room employes, stewards, firemen, pot-washers, silvermen, porters, oystermen ,checkers and cashiers, and are interested in stopping wage slavery, are invited to attend this meeting.

At last meeting a circular was adopted for distribution explaining our aims and objects and plan of organization. All workers in our industry should secure or be given a copy so as to learn our position and principles and what we propose to attept in the way of improving our condition.

Attend next meeting and find out for yourself the reason why you should be with us.

FOREST CITY ALLIANCE.

L. A. 342, S. T. & L. A., Cleveland, Ohio.

A very important meeting of above Local will take place on Wednesday, February 1, at 8 p. m. at Volksfreund Office, corner Seneca and Columbus sts. Officers for the next term are to be elected and other business of importance to be transacted. The presence of each and every member is to be expected.

Richard Koeppel, Secretary.

BRADDOCK, PA., ATTENTION.

Comrades: You are hereby notified that there will be a meeting held at Corner 11th street and Washington avenue, on Tuesday, January 31, 7.30 p. m.

Business of importance to be transacted. Be on hand!

S. R. Rager, Rec. Sec'y.

CALIFORNIA NOTICE.

To the Sections, Members-at-Large, and Supporters of the S. L. P. in California. Comrades:—

The newly elected State Executive Committee, composed of Comrades Geo. Edwards, J. C. Hurley, A. Weinberg, L. C. Haller, A. Demuth, D. C. Sanderson, and Geo. Anderson, members of Section Los Angeles County, held its first meeting on Friday, January 6, and elected officers as follows:—Recording and financial secretary, L. C. Haller; corresponding secretary, Geo. Anderson; treasurer, Geo. Edwards.

It was decided to discontinue the paying of a salary to the secretary and divide the office as indicated above.

After this, all money for dues or contributions to State agitations, or any other fund, should be sent to the recording and financial secretary, and all money orders should be made payable to L. C. Haller, 205½ S. Main street, room 9, Los Angeles, Cal. While all communications to the S. E. C. pertaining to the organization should be addressed to Geo. Anderson, Compton, Cal., Box. 37.

For the S. E. C.
Geo. Anderson, Recording Secretary.

BROOKLYN LECTURES.

The Socialist Educational Club organization has arranged for the following lectures to be held at Liberman's Hall, 113 Moore street corner Humboldt street, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.:

Saturday, February 4, F. Rosenblatt, "Terrorisms of a Revolutionary Movement" (in Jewish).

Friday, February 17, Daniel De Leon, "Statistics on the Prosperity of the Working Class".

Saturday, March 4, Timothy Walsh, "The Necessity of a Working Class Movement".

Note: De Leon's lecture will be held at Capital Hall, Manhattan avenue, corner Varet street, to which an admission of 10 cents will be charged. To all the other lectures admission free.

BOSTON LECTURES.

The Socialist Labor Party will hold Sunday evening lectures at headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, corner Ruggles st., as follows:

Jan. 29, subject: The Socialist Labor Party.

The lecturer will be Comrade Jas. A. Bresnahan. Comrades are requested to attend and make the lectures a success

OF INTEREST TO DALLAS, TEX.

Bill B Cook, 144 Nusbaumer street, Dallas, Tex., requests the Weekly People to inform its readers in that city that he is endeavoring to organize a Section there. Get in touch with him.

SECTION OFFICERS ELECTED.

Section Hamilton, Ohio: Organizer, J. H. Nordholt; Recording Secretary, Frank Ferber; Financial Secretary J. H. Rooke Treasurer, J. E. Steiger; Literary agent Ben Hilbert, Jr.; Auditing Committee Gus Ivo, P. E. Ferber and D. F. Cronin; Press Committee, Ben Hilbert, Jr., J. H Rooke and D. F. Cronin.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

We are forging ahead. We are nearing the three hundred mark! Two hundred and seventy-one subscriptions to The Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, January 21. In future make it at least three hundred every week. Things are now shaping themselves so favorably to our movement that it is easy to get new readers for our press. In some of the Western cities, particularly San Francisco and Chicago, good work is being done. Comrades of the New England cities, wake up! Let us all pull ourselves together everywhere. With all hands at work we will build up a circulation for the Daily and Weekly People that will make them a powerful factor in the near future.

Section Detroit orders twenty dollars' worth of Weekly People prepaid sub. cards and sends ten renewals for the Daily People, accompanied by thirty dollars in cash to pay for same. That is the way to promote the party press.

Comrade Henry Kaufer, of Red Lake Falls, Minn., an enthusiastic worker for the Weekly People, sends in ten yearlies and five dollars in cash to pay for same. Many other comrades can duplicate this if they will try.

Comrade Theo. Zollner, of Duluth, Minn., asks for the mailing list and writes: "I for one will try to average one subscriber per week." How many others will try to do the same?

Five or more subs. came in as follows: 34th A. D., New York, 13; Baltimore, Md., 12; Cleveland, Ohio, 11; 32d-33d A. D., New York, 10; F. C. Binder, Mineral City, Ohio, 7; 16th-18th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., 6; Section St. Louis, 6; A. J. Boland, Jersey City, N. J., 5;

We have sent out quite a number of small bundles of sample copies of the Weekly of January 21. If you get a bundle, distribute them. Try to put some in the hands of S. P. members. Let them read the "Volcanic Rumblings." Get them to subscribe. Give them a chance to learn the difference between the S. P. and the S. L. P.

Complaints have been received lately that papers fail to arrive. The complaints are being investigated. In the meantime make diligent inquiries of the letter carriers and at the post office. Let us know what papers you have missed and we will supply the missing numbers. Take pains to see that all names and addresses are plainly written when sending in sub.

Don't forget the extra supplement issue of the Weekly People that will appear on Feb. 18! The contents will include articles particularly adapted to extensive circulation. Order extra copies now. See adv. for special rates.

If you want all the news and want it early, subscribe for the Daily People. One month 40 cents, three months, $1.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Comrades, arouse yourselves to the need of the situation. Let no one jog along and fail to see that now the iron is hot. If you are ever going to do your duty for the Socialist movement, do it now. Every wakeful member should realize that more than ever before, now is the opportune time for spreading the trades union literature of the S. L. P. Don't let this special opportunity go by default. Arouse yourselves to the needs of the time and make a campaign particularly with "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism".

The week's orders seemed to reflect the wakefulness of the members in some parts. St. Louis Buffalo, Vancouver, Denver and Comrade Willard of Rawlins, Wyoming, all sent in orders including "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" and "Two Pages from Roman History." They strike the proper key.

We also received mentionable orders from Holyoke and Lowell, Mass., and Seattle, Wash. The orders were more n[illegible]rous than those for the previous we[illegible] but none of them were so large as the [illegible] pamphlet order of 'Frisco for that week.

Hustle and spread the trades union literature.

BOHN IN MISSOURI.

(Continued from page three.)

who live in little huts behind the fine houses of the aristocracy. The environment is distinctly "Southern" in character. Having gone there for the purpose of having a Sunday's rest with an old friend, I had not the slightest intention of preaching the Socialist gospel. But I found that this friend, who used to attend meetings of Section Columbus with me in the old days, had not lost interest in the movement. I must needs go out calling upon other sympathizers. No, comrades, we shall not have an S. P. Section at Columbia; not just yet, at least. But it certainly was interesting to talk with a professor of engineering, late from Tennessee, who had read "What Means This Strike?" and other pamphlets; had digested their contents, and believed in the truth they made clear. I have not heard of any State Inspectors of High Schools in the East who have "voted for Debs" and are "so much interested in Socialism" as to "wish to talk to an S. L. P. agitator all night." And this is a town which is so "aristocratic" that if one were to say publicly that negroes are fit for more than servitude it would warrant social ostracism. If there is any one in the Party who knows how little help may be expected from the universities, it is I. But here and there is a university man in whom there predominates the "fighting spirit." Who can tell if this question ever comes to a matter of barricades in the streets, whether we may not touch elbows with a few who have dropped Latin texts and seized paving blocks?

In places like Columbia, which are exceedingly quiet and "refined," the revolutionary germ, even if planted with scientific skill, has a hard time to survive. The cooling shades from the avenues of old trees, and the verandahs of colonial mansion houses, dampen the spirit of revolt in the breasts of even the most underpaid instructors. My last experience will illustrate. My friend and I were about to call upon some of the young women of the University. As we approached the fringe of stately elms, I suggested that here at last, was a precinct so sacred to the traditions of "aristocracy" that even a diluted form of Socialism could not enter, not even Wilshire's Magazine. "On the contrary," came the reply, "I have often talked of Socialism in this house. A few words from you might do a great deal of good." I meekly acquiesced. The conversation was proceeding encouragingly when a young lady left the room, and in a moment rushed in again, bearing a large, beautiful Confederate flag. This, with a fine sparkle of dark eyes, she flaunted in the face of the Organizer. Now, no S. L. P. speaker, on a soap-box of a windy evening in early November, is at his best unless a "pure and simpler" swears at him and a little garbage comes sailing his way. But, on the occasion the Organizer's spirits drooped. This completed the work of agitation in Columbia, one of those cases of the old time civilization, artificially kept green in the midst of this howling wilderness.

Frank Bohn.

Section Calendar

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays. 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room 850 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Chicago, Ill., S. L. P.—Section Headquarters, 48 West Randolph street. Business meetings 2d and 4th Friday of each month.

Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. meets in Room 3, Richmond Hall, Richmond street W., every second and fourth Wednesdays. Workingmen cordially invited.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

DEMOCRAT VS. SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

A debate under the auspices of the Revolutionary Educational Socialist Club between Charles J. Trainor of the Democratic party, and Seymour Stedman of the "Socialist" party, will take place at Cook County Democracy Headquarters, 145-147 Randolph street, Sunday, January 29, at 2.30 p. m.

Tickets, in advance, ten cents. At the door, fifteen cents.

Fred G. Clarke, Secretary,
Speakers' Committee, Labor Lyceum,
76 La Salle St.
Chicago, Ill., Jan. 15